# STATE AND RELIGIONS IN BRITISH INDIA

1814 to 1865

A dissertation by

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## PREFACE

It is essential that I describe in some detail the sources from which the data for this dissertation were obtained. To do this it is also necessary that I relate the manner in which I was eventually able to gain excess to these sources.

My lengthy stay in India as a missionary had convinced me that the widespread presence of Christianity and its institutions could not be adequately explained on the basis that this was due entirely to the work and investment of Mission Societies. Neither could the types of change and radical degree of change in Hinduism be explained on the basis of chance. My own observations led me to the conclusion that without the deliberate direction of the Government and its active involvement these changes could not have occurred. However, the published histories all agreed that the "British Government in India did not encourage Christian Missions," and that it followed "a policy of non-interference in the culture and religions of the Indian people." To get at the truth of the matter I would have to examine the original records of the Government.

I was hopeful that in trying to discover this truth I would obtain information to help explain the style of operations and the procedures a government would use and the agencies it would create to deal with the public institutions of religion;

and perhaps more important, how it would proceed where more than one religion was involved.

I did know that British colonial authorities had a reputation for maintaining meticulous records. I was also aware that in each of the three presidencies in India the East India Company had established a Government Records Department and a Records Office in which all official government business was recorded, indexed, and filed.

My first problem was to obtain permission from the Indian Government to use the official Government records of that period of British rule which I had decided to study. After a series of applications had been made, and after numerous personal interviews I finally secured the official written permission from the Chief Secretary to the Government. Because it was convenient, I had decided to concentrate my research in the Records Office in Madras. When I went to the Records Office I discovered that permission from the Chief Secretary did not give me automatic entrance into the secrets of the official records. The Curator in charge of the Records Office had to give his approval. He also approved the hours and days I could be in the Records building. He assigned to me to me a desk and a clerk whose responsibility it was to see that I did not make use of confidential records, or examine data which was outside the scope of my study.

The Records Office building in Madras is a massive two-

story building with a complex of twelve large wings joined at regular intervals to a long central corridor or hall. It is a labyrinth of large halls filled with innumerable open filing shelves crammed with official records going back more than two hundred years. Each wing usually contains the records of a Government Department, such as Revenue, Military, Education, Public Works, Home (Public or Civil) Affairs, Ecclesiastical, Marine, Trade and Commerce, etc.

I discovered that the East India Company and subsequently the British Government had employed a large cadre of scribes to record every letter, memorandum, and all information which came to the authorities for their official attention. Until about 1860 all documents were officially recorded by the scribes in longhand, bound in large volumes, indexed, and filed. It must also be noted that the official responses of the Company or Government in the form of letters, resolutions, memorandums, minutes, minutes of dissent, legislation, and so forth, also became part of the official government records. An examination of the indexes and the documents quickly made it apparent that the information I was seeking was contained in a myriad of unpublished documents, small and large. I realized that to do an adequate study in the time available would require a different approach. I decided to microfilm as many pertinent documents as possible in the time allotted to me and then study them in

more detail outside the Records Office. After I made the decision I discovered I had literally opened a pandora box of new problems:

1) Documents could not be taken outside for microfilming.
2) Special permission for microfilming had to be obtained from the Government.
3) Microfilming would have to be done in the Records Office building and I would have to make all arrangements for camera, lights, etc.
4) All the documents to be microfilmed would have to be scrutinized and approved by the superintendent.

Reproductions of some of the microfilmed documents are appended to this preface. I took more than 2,500 microfilm exposures and photographed about 1,600 documents. This microfilmed data was then read and relevant material was recorded on Unisort Analysis cards. This is a punch card system which enables one to sort and analyze relatively quickly numerous and varied data. In addition to the microfilmed material I was able to record considerable data directly onto the unisort cards while waiting for microfilm to be processed or procured in India. The sources for this dissertation are almost entirely unpublished data. Of course, much published material was consulted and contributed indirectly to this study.

A subject index is maintained in the Records Office. The documents are catalogued by department according to the dates of the consultations. The identification of this data is most easily done by noting the date of the Consultation and the Government Department in which the Consultation occurred. This is the procedure

I have followed in the footnotes throughout the length of the dissertation.

I mentioned rather casually that the microfilmed data "was then read." I must add, in explanation, that the reading of this data was itself a problem. Much of the writing of the records was done in Old English script. Until I learned the language this was extremely difficult to decipher. Frequently the writing was small, had faded, and the paper had turned brittle and brown; this added to the problem.

In the writing of this dissertation I discovered that I had to deal with another problem that was somehow related to my personal situation. Because I had been professionally in India for many years I was forever tempted to speculate about the present on the basis of the past records. Or, to state it in another way, I was in danger of interpreting the data I was examining from the perspective of India's present situation—the situation in which I was living and working. It was therefore necessary for me to carefully restrain myself from unjustifiable speculation.

My purpose in doing this study was to help broaden our knowledge and understanding of India. That is quite clear. However, this study should also provide additional information about how, under a different set of conditions, State and Religions interrelate and interact to achieve their purposes. We can never have too much knowledge of the human situation, since we do have to manage it ourselves. But I hope that this study may be of help to achieve

still another objective.

Developing nations, like India, require extensive assistance from the Western nations of the world. It is vital that this assistance be provided sympathetically and wisely. To achieve the insight necessary to be 'wise' benefactors, the Western nations, particularly America, must learn to understand not only the technical and material problems but the human and spiritual problems present in the situation of developing India. To understand the India of today it is essential that we become aware of the historical factors that contributed to the creation of modern India. My hope is that this study will add to the growing understanding of this important nation of our world.

I want to express my appreciation to the Curator of the Madras Records Office, Mr. Manickam, his Assistant Curator, the Superintendent, and the many employees of the Records Office for all the help extended to me so courteously. I wish to thank my Indian students in the senior seminars for criticising some of my conclusions and sharing their observations with me. The faculty members of the large interdenominational Andhra Christian Theological College, in Rajahmundry, India, were considerate and always ready to give their opinion; and no voice was raised in criticism whenever I took time to pursue my research on such brief occasions when I could leave my responsibilities as President.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Leonard Gittings and Dr. John Dillenberger for encouraging me to continue with my studies and

research while involved in very heavy work responsibilities. I am indebted to Dr. R. E. Fitch, chairman of my committee, for his careful and kind interest during the long process of writing this dissertation. I was fortunate to have the able help and encouragement of Dr. John C. Bennett during this one year he spent in the Berkeley area. Dr. John T. Noonan of the University of California Law Department, Dr. Robert N. Bellah of the University of California Department of Sociology, and Dr. Paul Clasper, Dean of the American Baptist Seminary of the West were the other members of my committee; they were always prepared to give their time and help whenever I asked and I am indebted to them for their valued help.

I gratefully acknowledge the help given to me by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society who gave their permission for me to continue my studies and who provided the scholarship funds to make it possible.

Above all I wish to thank my own family who suffered through the long years of discontinuous research and writing. Without the help of my wife, Doris, nothing could have been accomplished. Her expert typing skills were invaluable. But of incalcuable greater value were her intelligent and compassionate interest and help in every phase of my studies and writing.

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Sufficient Pagoda Tax with a copy of the Plea thereon is sent to

Madras, Shaw, &c.
31st. March, 1823. Signed John Carruthers,
Sol. to Hon'ble Company.

To
The Honorable Company's
Solicitor

Sir

Shaw received and perused the several letters and copies of letters noted in the margin on the subject of the action Commenced against the Collector of Madras in the Supreme Court by the Sharmacartah of the Trichinopoly Pagoda for an alleged Trespass in seizing certain box containing Jewels Title Deeds and accounts belonging to that Pagoda.

2 Since the date of my last letter on the subject of this action Shaw have been furnished with many Original Records supplied Shaw from the Offices of the Board of Revenue and of the Collector of Madras the whole of which Shaw attentively examined and perused.

3 Shaw also had a personal conference with the Collector of Madras from whom I applied to



Fort St. George 23rd. September 1823.

to obtain some information that might have enabled me to frame a sufficient plea to justify the act complained of according to the form of pleading in the Supreme Court.

4 I am sorry however to state for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council that neither the documents that have been transmitted to me nor the communication that Shaw otherwise procured on this perplexing subject have removed the difficulties to which Shaw pointed in my former correspondence.

5 The Collector during my conference with him directed my attention to a Regulation passed the 30th September 1817 for the due appropriation of the endowments and revenues of Hindoo Temples &c. and by which a Collector is as Officio appointed one of the Agents of the Board of Revenue for performing the acts and purposes contemplated by that Ordinance.

But

But in my opinion that Regulation even if it had been Registered in the Supreme Court so as to become a law of which its Judges were bound to take legal cognizance could not be pleaded in that Court to justify the act complained of against the Collector of Madras

6 Anxious to the last Clause of that Regulation will shew that a Collector was bound to proceed against the Farmers Managers and Officers of Mogues Hunter Samples &c in the same manner as against the native servants of Government and employed under the Collector in the department of Land Revenue that mode was specially prescribed in another Regulation which at the time of the alleged trespass was unrepealed and the documents which have been laid before me by the Collector of Madras respecting the sealing of the Doors at Sriperumbaum Pagoda clearly shew that the Collector did not follow the course



pointed out by the latter Regulation against persons who committed fraud or embezzlement in matters of Revenue.

7 If therefore the Regulation referred to were established law within the limits of Madras, I think the act of sealing the Inner Doors in the lawful possession of a person appointed thereunto and there installed to execute the duties of that Office would not be justifiable.

8 I am also of opinion that Regulation VII of September 1817 cannot be pleaded with effect in the Supreme Court to justify any act therein unlawfully and committed within the limits of Madras.

9 By the 37 George 3d Chap CXIII Sect 8 the Regulations of the Governor General in Council affecting the Rights Properties or Persons of Native Subjects were sanctioned and confirmed and directed to be formed into a code in the manner thereby pointed out and the Courts

Fort St George 13th January 1826

Ordered that the following letter be despatched

No 1

To

The Secretary to the Government
of India

Sir,

I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copies of communications noted in the margin and to request that you will be pleased to submit them for the consideration of the Supreme Government.

From the Right Revd the Lord Bishop of Madras 2d August 1825.
From the Council the Archdeacon 1st November 1825
From the Advocate General 8th Dec. 1825
Report by the Revd H. Chamberlain Chaplain 9th December 1825.
Presidency Minutes 29th Dec. 1825

It would not appear to be competent to this Government to act upon the suggestions of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Madras that, in the absence of the Lord Bishop, communications for the consideration of the Government in the Ecclesiastical Department should be forwarded through the Archdeacon and the prolonged absence of the Lord Bishop and his Lordship's distance from the Presidency

No 9.
To the Secretary to the Government of India
Under circumstances the Govt requests the instructions of the Supreme Govt as to whether communications for the consideration of Govt in the Ecclesiastical Department in matters not peculiar to the Bishop's Office might not, during the absence of the Lord Bishop, be forwarded through the Archdeacon

Fort St George 3d January 1826

be communicated with the usual letter to the Lord Bp.

Under the legal opinion now given by the Advocate General, as to the powers of the Honorable Court of the importance of having a resident Archdeacon at the Presidency — and on this ground, in which, although the law is not actually vacant, but the Bishop is absent on a visitation in the Presidency, both are doing the duties of another diocese, and will be partially absent for months, I see no other course open to the Government than the one proposed in the Chaplain

The inconvenience of having no presidency Chief Ecclesiastical authority at the Presidency, by which the Chaplains can communicate with the Government, is apparent by the [illegible] letters already addressed [illegible] direct to Government by Colonels Chaplains (the Bengal)

I should be glad to have the opinions of the members of Government, whether any steps are to be proposed on these — letters, with or without previous reference to the Lord Bp —

(Signed) Stratton

# INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a detailed study of the relationship and interdependence of State and Religions in British India between the years 1814 and 1865.

The purpose of this study is not a delineation of historical facts. Complete and detailed histories of British India exist. One of the best available is The Cambridge History of India.[1] There are also numerous histories of Christian Missions in India for this period of time. The recent Pelican History of Christian Missions,[2] by Bishop Stephen Neill, is an example of such a scholarly documentation of this phase of history. A number of these are listed in the bibliography. However, such historical studies, by and large, fail to provide us with an understanding of how State and Religions--two paramount institutions of human society--interact to produce the events which make up history.

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, (Cambridge, University Press, 1922-1960). There are two single volume histories of India that can be highly recommended: 1) A Short History of India, by W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee, (London, Longmans, Green, 1957), and, 2) India, A Modern History, by Thomas George Percival Spear, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961).

[2] Bishop Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions, (Harmondsworth, England, Penquin Books Ltd., 1964).

A History of the Expansion of Christianity, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, (New York, Harper and Row, 1945), is a more comprehensive history of Christian Missions and can be highly recommended.

Political institutions, by which a State governs its people, and Religious institutions, have in common this feature that both deal with public matters. Religion in theory may call for individual commitment and personal piety but the institutions of a religion are always of a public nature since they involve public practices. It is through religious institutions that man makes known publicly his beliefs, faith, dreams, hopes, and imaginations. In another sense, it can be said that the institutionalized religious practices are the concrete expression of the Spirit of man. Because religious practices are existential facts they post demands on that State in which they occur. No State can ignore these 'public matters' of the human spirit and still hope to govern its society for any length of time. A State can either fully incorporate these public demands of the human spirit into its own constitution and agencies as in a theocracy, or it may substitute other acceptable beliefs and dreams as in nationalism and communism, or it can admit the Religious institutions into a level of partnership in which the 'public' activities of State and Religion are each set within certain boundaries and limits.

If we can crudely define the institutionalized religious practices as 'concrete expressions of the Spirit of man,' then it can be said that in a rudimentary fashion the institutionalized

practices by which a society governs itself are the concrete expressions of natural man. While such a distinction may help our understanding it must be recognized that such a clear division is in reality not possible, since in both instances the same humans are involved; and these persons will themselves not make such a division in their existence. In speaking of politics Professor Wolin in his book, Politics and Vision, says that it means "the institutionalized processes and settled procedures regularly used for handling public matter," and that such a "system of political institutions in a given society represents an arrangement of power and authority."[1] Through the "system of institutionalized processes" the State governs a given society. State and Government deal with public matter. Through these same processes a State is made sensitive to the needs and concerns of its citizens--awake to matters of common public concern; and the deepest and ultimate concerns of citizens are frequently contained in and publicly expressed through their religious beliefs and practices. If a State should remain insensitive for any length of time it can only result in revolution. The Swami Vivekananda stated this relationship in his own

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[1] Sheldon S. Wolin, Politics and Vision, (Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1960), p. 6.

unique way: "Whether the leadership of society be in the hands of those who monopolize learning, or wield the power of riches or arms, the source of power is always the subject masses. By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it sure to become weak."[1]

What was said of the State can also be reversed and applied to the social institution of Religion. No Religion can ignore the 'public matters' of natural man and hope to survive in its own society. Such 'public matters' of natural man have to do with man's very being. And the real concern of Religion can only be for living men.

The point is that the institutionalized process of both State and Religion deals with public matters. Since the same 'public' is involved it is in the nature of things for conflicts to develop as the processes of action and decision take place in society. It is also clear that neither State nor Religion can be studied independently in any meaningful way. History is devoid of any sense of meaning if viewed only as a catalogue of national events. These national events must be understood in the light of religion

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[1] Swami Vivekananda, "Modern India," (This article is part of the Complete Works of the Swami, Mayavati Memorial Edition, 5 Volumes; Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, 1915-1919), Volume IV, p. 403.

and anthropology. It is our intention to examine in detail for a specific period of Indian history the actions and decisions of State and Religion in matters of common public concern.

Throughout this study we will be dealing quite fundamentally with the matter of social change, that is, the change created in society and in human character and life styles consequent on the decisions and actions of State and Religion. Social change is generated almost entirely from two directions. The changing needs, concerns, and ideals of society can ultimately force change on the institutionalized processes in State and Religion. In this regard it must be understood that it is quite possible for the State and for Religions to redirect the attention of the public to artificially created and perhaps false needs and concerns which the authorities in the State and/or Religions have already equipped themselves to meet. Such a maneuver has the advantage, if successful, in that it turns the attention of the public away from the real needs which the State or Religion cannot satisfy. Normally change that is generated because of the changing human needs and concerns is slow; social institutions seem to develop naturally as guardians of tradition and self-interest and therefore resist social changes.

Professor Wolin has taken note of a second direction from which social change is generated. In speaking of political theory he states that, "What is important for political theory is that these institutionalized practices play a fundamental role in ordering and directing human behavior and in determining the character of events."[1] A similar statement could be made with equal validity about Religious Faith. When the 'institutionalized processes' of State or Religion are changed they will effect, and in a fundamental way, the pattern of man's life and the nature of future events. Change comes much more quickly and efficiently by this method. Society must always make room for the new phenomena though it can reject a new idea and ignore a human need or a social concern.

This period of Indian history under study was one involving extensive and fundamental changes. Most of these changes occurred because of changes in the institutionalized processes in State and Religion. The East India Company was in reality the government of India. They quite naturally imported the institutionalized political processes of England and adopted these in their governing of India. It was possible that most of the officials of the East India Company--in reality the State government--were not conscious of the fact that by changing the institutional processes of State they were setting the

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[1] Sheldon S. Wolin, op. cit., p. 6.

direction and establishing the dynamics for large scale changes. In effect, the citizens of the State of India had to accommodate their total behavior to new phenomena. It was therefore possible and quite plausible to consider that the East India Company may have followed a policy of non-interference in the culture and religion of India and yet at the same time by their actions and decisions they changed the processes by which society was governed and so unleashed profound and radical changes. (The words "may have followed a policy of non-interference" are deliberately used because it appears from our study of the Government records that this policy was only followed during the early history of the East India Company in India, if at all. From the middle of the 18th century it appears to be only a theory rather than something actively practised.) The Christian religion followed a similar pattern. Neither the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Company nor Christian Missions appear to have had any significant success in converting the Indian people from Hinduism. At the present time the number of Christians in India still remains surprisingly small in view of the massive and long-term effort to convert them from Hinduism to Christianity. Having said this, one looks with amazement at the large and radical changes that took place in India. This can only be explained by the fact that the Christian

Religion demonstrated a new style of operations in the institutionalized processes of Religion and so indirectly forced change on society and human behavior.

Throughout this study we will note the changes which were made in the 'institutionalized' processes of State and Religions, and indicate the far-reaching effects which were thereby created. One outstanding Indian, Swami Vivekananda, recognized that the conquest of India by the British was different from any preceding conquest and that the changes would come from a different direction. He was not concerned about the changes that might come to India through the military and naval power of England. That England did not disturb him; but he was aware of another England,--"that England, whose warflag is the factory chimney, whose troops are the merchant men, whose battle-fields are the market-places of the world, and whose Empress is the shining Goddess Fortune herself! . . . What new revolution will be effected in India by her clash with this new giant power, and as a result of that revolution what new transformation is in store for future India,--cannot be inferred from her past history."[1]

This particular period of Indian history is remarkably appropriate for our study. This was the transition period during

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[1] Swami Vivekananda, op. cit., p. 385.

which the East India Company changed its role from that of a commercial enterprise to that of a colonial government. It was the period during which a commercial agency became a State. This was also the period when the Christian Religion, through the Established Church and through numerous Mission Societies, entered the India arena. The relationships between the new British State of India and Religions did not exist ready-made; they had to be newly created. The State was new; the non-Christian religions were new to it; in the case of the former the institutionalized processes of the State were being developed and in the case of the latter the religions were unfamiliar. And Christianity, as a significant social institution, entered India as a newcomer--not as part of the continuing scene.

There were five historical events which had a major influence upon all that developed during this fifty-year period and subsequently. These five events seem to epitomize the many changes that occurred in this whole period. In 1814 the English Crown issued the Letters Patent and the first Bishop in India was appointed. In 1833 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed provisions were included which permitted Mission Societies to begin work in India. In 1835 Macauley influenced by the Scotch Presbyterian Missionary, Alexander Duff, drafted the famous minute which, after becoming accepted policy,

made the English language the media of instruction, and Western science and philosophy the basic subject matter for all education in India. In 1857 the tragic Indian mutiny took place and had a profound effect upon government and religion. This was the first expression of nationalism. The last significant event was the act of Queen Victoria, in 1858, which brought to an end the private government of the East India Company and established the colonial rule of the British. The significance of these five events will be disclosed in the body of the dissertation.

It is necessary that we give a brief description of the administrative machinery by which the East India Company governed India. A critical examination and analysis of the government is outside the scope and purpose of this dissertation, however, it is necessary to present a brief description in order to establish a proper perspective.[1]

At the beginning of the 19th Century the East India Company was already the paramount political power in India. The greater part of all India accepted the rule of this private commercial Company. The East India Company was under the control

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[1] Note that several books are listed in the bibliography which give a detailed historical account of Company Rule in India. A brief but adequate description of Company Rule in India is found in British India, by Robert Watson Frazer (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), in A Short History of India, by W.H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee, (London, Longmans, Green, 1957), and in The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 1-93.

and management of the Court of Directors in London. The Court of Directors were, at least to a degree, subject to the authority of the British Parliament.

Administratively India was divided into three Presidencies--Calcutta (Fort William), Madras (Fort Saint George), and Bombay. A Governor was appointed to each Presidency by the Court of Directors. A Council of a few members was appointed by the Court of Directors to be responsible for the day to day governing of the Presidency. The Governor was President of the Council, hence the name 'Presidency.'[1]

The administration was carried on through several departments such as Military, Revenue, Public, Justice, Home (Political), Ecclesiastical, etc. The Governor and Council would meet regularly with the Chief Secretary of each Department. These were sessions in which were made the decisions of government related to that Department. These were made and recorded as 'resolutions' of the 'Governor-in-Council.' Correspondence to the Government was most frequently addressed to the 'Governor-in-Council,' as can be observed in many of the documents cited in this study. The consultations of the Governor-in-Council were recorded in the form of official minutes which would be signed by all

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[1] See The Three Presidencies of India, by John Copper, (London, Ingram, Cooke & Co., 1853).

members present. The decisions and resolutions would then be sent to the appropriate persons as Government Orders. These "G.O.'s" would also be published in the official Gazette. These meetings of the Governor in Council were variously called Public Consultations, Government Consultations, or Consultations of Government. (To avoid confusion I have uniformly identified these documents as 'Consultations of Government.')

In the period of time under study the East India Company was already primarily involved in land revenue collections and governing, and only secondarily in trade and commerce. For purposes of administrative efficiency in revenue collections and governing, each Presidency was divided into Districts. Each District would have a Collector (the original full title was Collector of Revenue), Magistrate, and a Commissioner.[1] All matters of local government were under the control of these three British officials.

To a degree the three Presidencies were administratively autonomous. However, as far as policy was concerned the Court of Directors acted as final authority and coordinated the policies of the three Presidencies. As the Company assumed

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[1] For a detailed description and analysis of District government in India under the British see Guntur District by Robert Eric Frykenberg, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965).

increased responsibility for governing the Calcutta (Fort William) Presidency took on the role of a Central Government. It became the "Supreme Government of India."

Something of the tension, as well as the coordination, that existed between the three Presidencies was revealed through two incidents that occurred in the Madras Presidency. The first incident developed from a letter written by the Roman Catholic Bishop to the Government complaining that the allowance given to wives of European soldiers in India had been refused to wives of Roman Catholic soldiers. Correspondence revealed that the allowance had been withheld because the Roman Catholic soldiers refused to send their children to the Regimental School. They had refused to send the children on grounds that their children were compelled to learn the Protestant catechism and attend Protestant worship. After much correspondence the Governor-in-Council issued a resolution, "to refer the matter for reconsideration to the Supreme Government and the Court of Directors." The resolution continued and stated that, "until the Court of Directors orders otherwise they must follow the regulations of Her Majesty's Service. However, in conformity with the practise in the Bengal Presidency, the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council is pleased to declare that the Indian allowances granted to the wives of European Soldiers serving under this Presidency shall in no case be made contingent on the attendance

of their children in the Regimental School."[1]

The second incident had to do with the struggle between the Bishop and Governor-in-Council over the issue of who had the authority to appoint and dismiss the Company's Chaplains. The Bishop insisted that the authority had been granted to him in the Royal "Letters Patent." Considerable correspondence took place between the Governor-in-Council, the Bishop, the Supreme Government, and the Court of Directors. In the end the Governor-in-Council published a resolution that he proposed "to pursue the course hitherto followed--namely to appoint Chaplains, seeking the judgement of the Bishop." The other Council members, Messrs. Chamier and Bird, disagreed and in a separate minute they stated that, "by reason of orders which made Fort William the Chief Government, they are incumbent to adhere to orders issued from there viz.--the Bishop has complete authority." The Governor-in-Council a short time later accepted the ruling from Fort William, and incidently, the complete authority of the Bishop.[2]

One is tempted to describe the Government in India under the Company, as a type of military dictatorship. It was certainly highly autocratic. However, the rule of the

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 9th March, 1841.

[2] Ibid., 6th November, 1843.

President was held in check and moderated by:

1) the ultimate authority of the Court of Directors in England;
2) the Advisors appointed by the Court of Directors to sit "in Council" with the Governor;
3) the division of the Government of India into three Presidencies; and,
4) the decisions and acts of the Governor-in-Council were subject to the laws of the land of England.

# CHAPTER I

## THE STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR CIVIL MORALITY AND RELIGION

During the early years in India the East India Company concerned itself almost exclusively with developing a profitable trade. Because trade and profit were their only concern, it was a matter of convenience for the Company to follow a policy of non-interference in the culture and religion of the Indian people; it was good business policy.

However, by the beginning of the 19th Century the Company had become involved primarily in land revenue collections. This proved exceedingly more profitable than trade. However, this did force the Company to assume some moral responsibility. It was no longer a simple matter of the bartering of trade goods. In making land revenue collections the Company was faced with numerous and unavoidable moral decisions.

Land revenue collection, if it is to be successful, demands peace in the 'land.' As the urgency for peace grew more intense it became necessary to create the powers and authorities to maintain peace. The army, police, law courts, and law schools were the first to come into existence under the Company.

It was but a short step to the assumption of all normal functions of a State government; and the East India Company took the step rather quickly. In the long process of evolving into its role as government of India, the Company became aware that it must assume responsibility not only of the physical conditions of its citizens but also for the spiritual and religious welfare of these same people. They discovered what all governments must ultimately realize--that they not only have a responsibility for the physical situation in which their citizens live, but they have an equal responsibility for the human spirit, and for the religions and ideologies which their people desire and in which they believe. It may be that the authorities of State assume a posture of moral responsibility in order to exercise some control on the thoughts, beliefs, and behavior of its citizens; or, it may be that the citizens demand of their rulers an assumption of moral responsibility and moral leadership symbolic of their own spirit and ideals. Whatever the reason, the point is that during this period of Indian history the Company was in transition from a role of a simple business establishment to the role of a government of a large country. One feature of this transition was the shift in Company policy from indifference to moral responsibility to one of practical assumption of moral responsibility with all the resulting profound consequences.

## Official Establishment of the Christian Religion in India

On the 2nd of May, 1814, His Majesty the King of England granted the Letters Patent[1] creating a Bishop's See and three Archdeaconries in India. This act was possibly the first significant and public act whereby the English governing authority acknowledged its responsibility in the moral and spiritual life of the citizens of India.

"In 1667 the Court of Directors (of the English East India Company) had resolved to provide Chaplains."[2] From that time on the Company had regularly appointed Chaplains for service in India. In 1814 it was the Government in England which appointed, by an act of Government, the first Bishop in India, Thomas Fenshaw Middleton, and three Archdeacons, Henry Lloyd Loring, John Newsley, and George Barnes. By this act the Government revealed its interest in exercising some control or influence on the moral and religious life of the English Company employees within the Indian cultural context. Company officials in India had some difficulty adjusting to this new situation. The Bishop and Archdeacons were ecclesiastical functionaries appointed by the Government, but their salaries were to be paid by the Company.

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, January 1816 (Madras, Government Records Office).

[2] H. B. Hyde, The Parish of Bengal 1678 - 1788, (Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1899), p. 2.

The relative position of authority and power of the Bishop was made quite clear in the Letters Patent granted by His Majesty:

> And, more over, to Command by these present, for us our Heirs and our successors, strictly enjoin, as with the Court of Directors of the said United Company, and their Governors, officers, and servants, as all and singular, our Governors, Judges and Justices, and all and singular, Chaplains, Ministers and others our subjects within the parts aforesaid, that they and every of them be, in and by all lawful ways and means aiding and assisting to the said Bishop and Archdeacons and his and their successors in the exercise of the functions in all things.[1]

The Bishop was appointed by the British Government in a manner similar to the appointment of the Governor-in-Council. He was responsible directly to the Government in England. Officially he occupied a position of near equality with the Governor. The Bishop was one official who could communicate directly to the Court of Directors and the British Parliament without reference to the governing officials in India. Within the limits of his responsibility, he functioned as an equal with the Governor, and had the assistance and support of the powerful Company. Apparently the Bishop and the establishment he would create were expected to exercise considerable moral and religious influence on the citizens of India. The Letters Patent granted to the Bishop "jurisdiction, spiritual and

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[1] Consultation of Government, op. cit., January 1816.

Ecclesiastical, in and through the said See and Diocese, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of our Realm of England which are lawfully made and received in England. . ."[1] No restrictions were listed in the Letters Patent indicating non-interference in the religion and culture of the Indian people. This subject will come up for more study in a subsequent chapter dealing with the State and the Christian Religion. The point to note is that in the act of appointing a Bishop in India the State was creating machinery which would, by its very nature and manner of appointment, exercise considerable influence on the morals and beliefs of the citizens of India. The Company was recognizing the critical importance of exercising some control over the thoughts and behaviour of the citizens it was seeking to govern.

Another indication of the shift from trading to governing can be seen in the fact that the responsibility for the Ecclesiastical Department was taken from the Military Department and given to the Civil (or Home) Department. Orders were issued that "matters connected with the Church Establishment originally disposed in the Military Department have been transferred to the civil."[2] As long as the Company was in India

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[1] Ibid., January 1816.

[2] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 8th November, 1842.

primarily for business it needed its mercenary force and it felt obliged to provide religious services for its employees. "Church matters" came naturally under the jurisdiction of the Military since this represented the governing authority. However, when the Company assumed the role of governing for the Indian people, government shifted into the control of English civilians. Under this new situation it was again natural for "Church matters" to come under the control of the civilians who were now, in fact, the Government of India.

Official Admission of Christian Mission Agencies

In 1833 the East India Company Charter was renewed by the British Crown. The Evangelicals in the British Parliament were successful in their efforts to open India for all Mission Societies. "From 1833 onwards the forces of many nations began to enter the field."[1] These Mission Societies were open and clear in declaring the purposes for which they were organized.

In 1710 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts resolved that the "design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels. . ."[2]

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[1] Bishop Stephen Neill, op. cit., p. 276.

[2] Quoted by Bishop Stephen Neill in A History of Christian Missions, op. cit., p. 226.

The declared purposes of these Mission Societies were not unfamiliar to the East India Company. Quite regularly the Company had been making use of missionaries as chaplains or part-time chaplains in their establishment. In fact the purposes to which the Mission Societies subscribed were not dissimilar to the requirements included in the new Charter granted to the English East India Company in 1701. "This new charter of 1701 required maintenance of Chaplains. . . the Chaplains must apply themselves to learn, besides Portugese the native language of the country where they should reside, the better to instruct the heathen servants or slaves of the Company or their agents in the Protestant Religion," with the hope that "these Indian Nations amongst whom we dwell beholding our good works may be won over thereby to love our most holy religion."[1]

It becomes apparent that the East India Company was not neutral with regard to the several religions in India neither was it really interested in maintaining a position of non-interference in the Religion and culture of India. The Company was only interested in maintaining an appearance of "neutrality" and "non-interference."[2] The Company was of course very interested in maintaining peace and stability to foster commerce. And it was very interested in maintaining some control over the type and manner of interference which would be directed toward the non-Christian religions.

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[1] H.B. Hyde, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] Note that the policy of "neutrality and non-interference" is referred to in The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 97, 122, 127, in Frazer's British India, p. 387, and in P. Thomas', Christians and Christianity in India, p. 151.

## British Government in India Officially Established

The mutiny of 1857 was a traumatic experience not only for East India Company officials but for the entire English nation. Some of the tragic incidents involved the Church Establishment of the Company and also some Mission Societies. This had its effect on the English Parliament. In 1858 Queen Victoria announced the introduction of Colonial rule in India. By an act of Parliament the governmental function of the East India Company was superceded by English colonial rule. However, by this point in time many of the institutionalized processes of State had already been well established under the Company. Most of the same people continued in office in India so that the transition was almost unnoticeable to Indian society. What is abundantly clear in the Queen's proclamation is that the State was now assuming publicly and consciously the responsibility for the total life of the citizens in Indian society. In part the proclamation reads as follows:

> Firmly relying on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of Our subjects. We declare it is Our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observance, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law. . .[1]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 1858.

As the Company grew into the role of government it accepted the fact that it must assume some responsibility for the ideals and behaviour of its citizens. The 1857 mutiny made it painfully clear that no longer could they continue to operate under the illusion that theirs was strictly a business venture. They discovered that no government could treat citizens only as part of a business enterprise. During this period of transition it was of course possible that the Company could have developed a working arrangement with the institutionalized processes of the Hindu Religion. The Hindu religious establishment would likely have welcomed this. In the Indian traditional political system of Rajha Dharma a type of king-priest rulership always existed.[1] However, this would not have been acceptable to the English authorities in England nor for those working in India. This was out of the question. It was also open for them to impose Christianity on India as the State religion. This, however, was not considered in the early days when the Company was interested only in commerce and profit, and governing was undertaken only to maintain the peace and to protect the trade and land revenue. Besides, any attempt to autocratically impose Christianity on India would have resulted in placing the English

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[1] For a brief but comprehensive description of the traditional system of government in India under Hinduism see the White Umbrella, by D. Mackenzie Brown, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953).

in the same position in which Moslem rulers had governed India. History made it clear that the Moslem rulers had less than happy results in trying to impose Islam on the Indians. Initially, such a vast government establishment was not the interest of the Company. Even if such a course would have been thought desirable, in a country of India's large size and multitude of people, the problems made such a policy highly unacceptable.

## Christian Religious Institutions as unofficial Representatives of the Government

What did develop was a kind of unofficial and informal working alliance between the State and the Christian religion. It could perhaps be described as a common-law marriage. The State provided security, support, and a privileged position for the Christian religion and its institutions. At the same time since it was informal the State was able to maintain a public position of objectivity and neutrality among the religions of India.

The Christian religion quite obviously shared a common heritage with the State. They shared a common history, philosophy, theology, politics, and style of life. It was natural that the Christian institutions became the unconscious and voluntary agencies to promote the ideals and programs of the

State. Without being aware of what was happening the Christian institutions became the propaganda agencies of State promoting a type of government and style of life and behavior that was distinctly Christian and Western. The Christian religion carried out its part of this common moral task tirelessly, and at times fanatically, through the life and preaching of its members. However, far more significant was the fact that the major thrust of the Christian enterprise was through the schools operated and the type of education provided.

This arrangement of an unofficial partnership between the State and the Christian religion had a distinct advantage for Christianity. Christianity and its institutions were also able to appear in the public eye as a third-party independent agency while promoting those beliefs, ideals, and style of social behavior that the State was anxious to promote.

This arrangement will be examined in more detail in the succeeding chapter when we study specifically the relationship between the State and the Christian religion.

In this Chapter it is important to note that this arrangement that developed between the State and Christianity presented Indian society with a new phenomena. Christianity, in its third-party role, provided the Indians with the concrete possibility that nothing in society and religion was fixed and

unchangeable. And this was thrust into society in sharp contrast to the accepted tradition that everything was dictated and sustained by Karma (fate). In the Indian context planned change was indeed a most revolutionary idea. It was true that the weight of government was behind Christianity and in favoring Christianity they made it more attractive. The presentation was highly persuasive. That this was a form of aggression cannot be denied. However, it was distinctly different from the choice presented at the point of the tyrant's sword to Indian society by previous Moslem rulers. The State-Christian informal working arrangement was more subtle--employing primarily persuasion and not force. In one sense this arrangement actualized the notion that man was a moral agent with free choice.

This arrangement was remarkably successful in persuading Hindu people to change their religious affiliation to Christianity. A letter written in the early years reveals some of this success. Through the work of the Military personnel and in particular through the efforts of the Company Chaplains a large number of Indians were converted to Christianity. An indication of the effectiveness of their efforts was revealed in a letter to the Chief Secretary from Mr. Woopadasy Royapodyachy. At that time he could already write on behalf of "43 head inhabitants and 6,500 persons of different Taluks in the Collectorate of

South Arcot,"[1] all of whom were Christians. This letter was written only a few years after the Company Government gave permission for the entry of missionaries into India. Clearly this was largely the result of the work of the Chaplains and lay personnel of the Company.

## The New System Requires a New Point of View

The ideals, beliefs, and services of the new State and Christianity may not have been as important as the fact that a new modus operandi was created which radically altered the old system. In changing the system the India citizen was presented with a new phenomena; and he had to adjust his behavior and ideas. The new system opened the possibility of conversion and change, and suggested no limits to the free choice available to the citizen as a moral agent.

There was another remarkable distinction between the British Colonial Government and the powers that invaded India. As a commercial enterprise they were closely attuned to the laws of economics and the use and power of capital. This gave them the knowledge that investment in business was profitable in the long run. Where previous powers were concerned only with exploitation, the new power out of pure commercial interest

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 9th October, 1841.

recognized the value of investment in the country they controlled. They invested by establishing industries, the means for transportation and communication, education, etc. This investment proved immensely profitable. But, at the same time these commercial investments set the stage for revolutionary social change. It thrust into the Indian scene ideas and products which became invincible obstructions to the continuation of the traditional style of life and the beliefs that sustained it. The Indian had to understand this new situation from a totally new perspective. None of the old categories seemed to apply. What was required and what developed was a new weltangshawung among the Indian people, particularly the Indian elite.

## Education for Citizenship in the New India

The State exercised its responsibility for civil morality and religion in a variety of other practical processes and programs. The educational program was already mentioned and will be examined again and in more detail in a later chapter. We should note that the East India Company opened regimental schools for the children of its soldiers early in its history. Such schools were also provided for the children of soldiers of the "Native Regiments." These schools were established at every major station established by the Company. In the largest centers orphanages were also

provided to which Indian children and children of mixed marriages could be admitted. These schools were the responsibility of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. Typical of the reports sent in by the Chaplains is one sent by the Rev. Henry Taylor from Bellary in 1843. He was requesting help for the construction of a second school associated with the Church since there were "many who desire to bring up their children in those moral and religious principles which the Church of England maintains and inculcates. . . the school should be considered in the light of the Government school open to European, Indo-British and native children. . . The natives themselves have come to me requesting me to educate their children, some anxious for them to read the Bible. . . I at all events go some way to prepare them for the reception of such a belief (Christian). The parents have sent 15 children in one week."[1]

A similar request was made by Captain Bernard of the military establishment for permission to "establish a school at Poonamallee (in Madras) for destitute children--to be connected with the Church of that station. These children are of soldiers and pensioners who cannot be admitted to the military

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[1] Ibid., 7th March, 1843.

male or female orphan asylums, nor can their parents afford an education for them." (The Bishop recommended this proposal in his letter to the Governor dated 23rd May, 1840.) The Governor's first response was negative. To this the Bishop responded that "for Captain Bernard it becomes a matter of deep regret and to all those who wish well to the cause of Religion and morality that Government should refuse to sanction the establishment and support of a school connected with the Church here. . . since this is. . . only to afford them moral and religious instruction, without providing them any kind of maintenance and support." This request for the opening of the school was then granted and a letter notifying them of the Government sanction was written by Robert Clerk, Secretary to the Government on 17th June, 1840.[1]

In its appointment of Chaplains and in the permission for entry into India granted to missionaries the Court of Directors was explicit that in declaring their opinion that the primary purpose for these persons in India should be "to introduce useful knowledge and religious improvement among the natives."[2]

The subject matter in all the schools, during the period under study, was primarily concerned with Christian beliefs and

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[1] Ibid., 14th May, 1840.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 14th August, and 2nd November, 1816.

and morals. In 1861 the Madras Provincial Commander-in-Chief reported that students from the military schools wishing to attend Normal School to become regimental school masters were tested at entrance on "The Scriptures, Pentateuch, Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. . . and they take Scripture as the first subject each of both years."[1]

## Public Service of the Military Establishment

It was already noted that the Company was directed by its Charter to provide chaplains. This meant the construction of chapels and eventually the creation of a church establishment at each station. This will be studied in detail in the following Chapter. What must be noted here is that in each such station the 'native' soldiers were participants in the religious services. It is more than likely that many of the 'native congregations' reported by the Chaplains were, in the first instance, soldiers in the Company's army. Through the discipline provided in the army and because of the religious practices and social behavior demanded of its native troops the Company was exercising considerable moral persuasion.

The role of the military under the East India Company

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the year 1859-60, 2 Volumes, (East India Government Press. Ordered by House of Commons, 1861), Vol. I, p. 374.

demands special mention. It must be kept in mind that this army was not the imperial force of an invading government. This was, in the first place, the mercenary force of a private business organization. It was primarily a peace-keeping force. Though this army fought many bloody engagements, it was always used primarily as a police force rather than as a military force. The variety of its functions reveal this fact. The military was in charge of all public buildings and roads. The military built and maintained the communication systems necessary for society and commerce. Military hospitals and personnel as far as possible were available for the public. The military were used on occasions of natural disasters and in projects of Company public philanthropy. The military were also widely used to assist the State in civil administration. Taken altogether the army under the Company presented a public image startlingly different from any armies previously known in India. The army was involved more in construction than in destruction. Here again the Company, whether consciously or otherwise, used the military as an agency of public relations. The situation helped create a new system; in a sense the military became the protectors of society and the protagonists of the Western way of life. The change in the system in turn made it necessary for the citizens to change their ideas and behavior.

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To improve the effectiveness of their public relations the Company encouraged all their personnel to study the "indigenous languages." To encourage proficiency in the Indian languages the Company gave generous allowances of Rs. 170/, Rs. 260/, or Rs. 350/ per month, depending on the degree of proficiency.[1]

Instances revealing the broad function of the Military Department are numerous. In fact the accounts of such activity occupy the major portion of the records of the Consultation of the Military Department of the Government. As an example, on June 14th, 1842, W.K. Worster, the Superintendent of Government roads in the military department wrote to the Governor-in-Council enclosing an estimate of improving the burial plot of the Protestant Christian cemetery in Vepery, Madras.[2] On the 12th of July of the same year a letter to the Governor-in-Council from the Military Consultation informed him that the delay in construction of the Vizagapatnam church was because "the Trustees requested that the work might be suspended, till they should have an opportunity of representing, through the established channel, the inadequacy of the proposed building."[3]

In 1840 the missionaries requested the services of the Military medical officer and the Company dispensary. The

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 25th January, 1828.

[2] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 14th June, 1842.

[3] Ibid., 17th July, 1842.

Governor-in-Council replied that, "the medical stores and establishment are maintained solely in reference to the Company's service. . . at the same time His Lordship-in-Council is sure that Medical Officers of the Company's service will readily afford the benefit of their professional advice gratuitously."[1] In December of the same year the Bishop requested that military medical services be provided for a "dispensary and hospital for the poor started as a charitable institution at Cunnanore." The reply of the Governor-in-Council was the same as before with the additional note that "the matter of opening Dispensaries at the principal stations is under reference to the Court of Directors."[2] The list of public construction projects carried out by the military is interminable. One further incident demonstrates the varied role of the military. On the 27th of November, 1844, Rev. W. Taylor a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts requested "that the burial site for native Protestant Christians be protected or they be granted another similar site." This was forwarded to the Military Department for action.[3]

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[1] Ibid., February, 1840.

[2] Ibid., 18th December, 1840.

[3] Ibid., 27th November, 1844.

A report to the Court of Directors indicates that the Department of Public Works (formerly the responsibility of the Military Department) in 1860 completed a wide range of public construction, which included 27 churches and chapels at a total estimated cost of Rs. 2,87,375.00.[1] In the same report the Bishop of Madras reported that his "tour of visitation for the year included South Malabar, Travancore, Tinnevelli and Tanjore, and in the course of it he baptized 3,500 native Christians, and ordained 21 native candidates."[2] These were reports that gave the British Government reassurance that in India there was "moral and material progress."

Military officers were frequently appointed as Lay Trustees to the Established Churches by the Governor-in-Council and subsequently by the Bishop. These officers were responsible for the management of the properties of a church and were also expected to function in place of the chaplain whenever he was absent.

Moral Responsibility of Government and Citizen

The report cited above demonstrated in yet another fashion the growing awareness of the State to its moral

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[1] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 94-97.

[2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 96.

resonsibility. Following the establishment of colonial rule the Parliament in England asked for and received an annual report on "The Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India." This report would cover all parts of India and all phases of government activity. These reports indicate the Government's involvement in changing Hindu religious practices and festivals, in changing the educational processes of the Muslims, in building and operating schools, and in the program of conversion of the heathen.[1] The data contained in these reports will be used in subsequent portions of this dissertation. What is important and should be noted is the fact that the Government in 1859 required such a detailed report about the "Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India."

In Chapter III we will examine in detail the records which indicate the direct action taken by the Government to change some of the religious and social customs of the Indian people. Here we must recognize the interesting fact that the Government felt obligated to change some of the vital life customs. For example marriage became a function of the Government in that licensing and registration were required. No longer was marriage merely the intimate communal celebration

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India During the year 1859-60, op. cit.

sanctioned by its own immediate community. Similarly, the Government interposed itself to change funeral customs, inheritance laws, and the calender of religious festivals. All of these actions aimed at changing the social structures of the local Indian communities. It is understandable that a change in the social processes would, in consequence, strongly influence a change in attitudes and values. Since the Government had assumed these responsibilities for its citizens it was to be expected that they would expect responsiveness from the citizens.

It is understandable that as the Company assumed the functions of government their expectations regarding the responsibilities of the Indians also changed; the Indian person was no longer just someone responsible to trade with the Company; the Indian was now a person who as a citizen was expected to take moral responsibility for life in their country. The Government did more than trade with the Indians. It was deeply involved in the lives of the people of the land--it provided services for them. So it was inevitable that the State would soon expect its citizens to assume some responsibility in maintaining peace and order in the style expected by the State. This was stated in the form of a concrete legislative proposal:

> It is evident that whatever changes are effected in the organization of the police they will be comparatively useless, so long as the Government is unassisted by the representatives of the people. These are the landowners, and that they can aid the police is not to be denied; that under the present law, they do not, and cannot be made to do so, must also be acknowledged. . . It is true that the Government if bound, to the extent of its power, to protect those who contributed to its revenues; it is no less true that the owners of land are bound to assist the efforts of Government as a service incidental to their tenure. . . they are just as influential to prevent the commission and to report the occurrence of a crime and as powerful to detect the criminal, and to ensure his apprehension. . .[1]

The precise wording of the legislation was to the effect that, "if it shall not be proved that the inhabitants of such village used all the means in their power both to prevent the commission of the offense and also to detect and to procure the apprehension of the offenders, it shall be lawful for the magistrate to impose a fine upon the inhabitants of such village."[2]

A similar procedure was adopted where the Government wanted to abolish the custom of hook-swinging, charruck poojah, during Hindu religious festivals.

> The degrading nature of the spectacle and the suffering the votaries were supposed to undergo, were grounds upon which the interference of the Government was solicited. . . but it appeared. . . it would be better to discourage such ceremonies by legitimate indirect means than to prohibit them by a direct act of authority. . .every opportunity should be taken to discountenance the practice, and the Government suggested the propriety of insisting, in all

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[1] Ibid., 1859-60, Vol. II, Part IV, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 95.

> leases of Government lands, provision hostile to the celebration of the festival; of enlisting the same direction of sympathies of the leading members of the native community; and of quietly making known the disapprobation with which such spectacles were regarded by the Government. Should these measures fail. . . then consideration of whether more decided steps should be taken for putting an end to observances opposed to the dictates of humanity. .. Instructions were issued by the Lt. Governor to the Commissioners of Divisions in conformity with these views--where the practice of hook-swinging existed as a long-established custom. . . they should induce the people voluntarily to abandon the practice. On the other hand, where charruck-swinging was not an established custom. . . the magistrates were authorized to prohibit its celebration as a local measure of police for the preservation of order and decency. . . the Zemindars (large landowners) and other native gentlemen, knowing the wishes of Government are disposed to use their influence and example to put a stop to this revolting exhibition.[1]

The Government was explicit in its intention to see that the Indian citizens changed their moral values and style of life to accommodate to the preferences of the Western British Government.

Incidently, it also became clear to the Indian that land and property could not be considered an inherited right as before but, in fact, it was an earned privilege. The services of the Government were available to responsible citizens. The incident reveals the strong interest of the British to "humanize" many of the practices they considered inhuman. It also shows the British use of the strategies of moderation and persuasion to change a situation rather than the use of direct force. Direct force

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[1] Ibid., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 61, 62.

would stop a practise, but perhaps only temporarily, and might never change the opinions of those involved in the practise.

The general opinion of the officials of the British Government about the value and benefits of their presence in India was summed up in the Governor-General's announcement of the future policy of the British monarchy towards native states. He announced that, "notwithstanding the greater purity and enlightenment of our administration, its higher tone, its surer promise of future benefits to the people, as compared with any native government, I still think we have before us a higher and more pressing duty than that of extending our direct rule; and that our first care should be to strengthen that rule within its present limits,. . . these patches of native governments serve as breakwaters to the storm. . . ."[1]

This statement by the Governor General made no apology for the British tactic to keep India divided in order to make control easier and more secure. It also revealed that the British had a deep feeling of responsibility to bring "purity" and "enlightenment" to the world. It was their commitment to this 'grand' responsibility that motivated the Government to help the Christian religion.

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[1] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

## CHAPTER II

## THE STATE AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

We could add little or nothing to the histories already written about Christianity in India; nor would it serve our purpose. What is important is the study of the pattern of operations and the style of institutions which developed in the Christian Religion in colonial India. It is readily apparent that, given the unique form of colonial rule which developed in India, the institutionalized processes of the Christian Religion would assume a distinctive character. In a sense it is true that no Religion can be fully understood except as it is also observed in reference to its relationship to the government ruling the society in which it exists. The Christian Religion as it began, grew, and flourished under colonial rule was a unique phenomena. If we understand this phenomena we will have more precise knowledge of the influence of Christianity in India and perhaps some insight into the future of the Christian Religion in India.

Christianity as the Mar Thoma and Syrian Orthodox Churches existed on the west coast of India from early history—long before the arrival of the East India Company. However, its sphere of influence was confined to a small geographical area along the

west coast. It is not our intention to examine the history of this segment of Christianity in detail[1] nor to search for reasons as to why its influence remained confined to this small geographic area. Possibly this was because its political interests were confined to its local government only. Later in this Chapter we will briefly study this branch of Christianity only as it entered into serious controversy with the Roman Catholic missionaries, sent from Rome, and in India by the permission of the Company.

It can be accepted that during the early years the English Company was not interest in promoting a Christian Religious program; its interest was commercial. Most historians take note of this stated policy but tend to exaggerate its reality and importance. To set up a religious establishment was of course costly. Then there was the more serious problem that the professionals of the Christian religious establishment would, when once in India, disturb the atmosphere necessary for good trade and business. Company officials in India and the Court of Directors in London were probably skeptical of any policy which would create a Christian Religious Establishment in India over which they might not have adequate control.

In this Chapter we will examine primarily those areas in which the interests of the State coincided with or were adverse to the Christian religious processes and programs.

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[1] An interesting example of a basic history of this church is Saint Thomas, the Apostle, in India, by F.A. d'Cruz, (Madras, Hoe & Co., 1922).

We do not propose to present an elaborate historical account of events, although this cannot be entirely avoided. Our purpose is to look critically and analytically at those programs and policies which were of common interest and concern to the State and the Christian religion and in which both were involved. We must not forget that the State and the Christian religion were invading the same society--the same public--and both deal with public matters. The British Government and the Western Church were trading in the same market and the products and ideas they traded had much in common. It is understandable that an arrangement of mutual support should develop. This becomes clear as we examine the evidence of the Government's records.

## Missionaries as Company Employees

At the beginning of the 19th Century pressure was being exerted from several quarters to have the Company develop and support an Ecclesiastical Establishment. As mentioned in the preceding Chapter, the Company's Charter from the Crown required that chaplains be appointed and supported. There were also enough people among Company personnel who were desirous of introducing and supporting in India the institutionalized processes of the Christian religion.

During the early years the Company adjusted to this situation in a unique manner. They turned to non-English missionaries sent out from various countries of the European continent. These were asked to perform, often on a part-time basis, the professional religious services desired by Company personnel. The Company would give an allowance for such services. Of course, this did give support to the agencies sending the missionaries, indirectly. But at that time this did not concern the Company officials. Their concern was practical. They had to arrange for the provision of Christian religious services and they aimed to do so but, as far as possible, they wished to refrain from any appearance of repressive interference in the religious practices and culture of India. The use of missionaries obviously fitted admirably into this scheme of things.

Bishop Stephen Neill in his history notes this unusual arrangement and remarked, "the British authorities in India turned to the German missionaries for help in the pastoral care of the troops and other British subjects. . . The missionaries of 'the English Mission' then, in this remarka ble ecumenical experiment, in many cases found themselves serving in a dual capacity. They were Germans sent out originally by the King of Denmark, taken over by the High Church Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and financially supported

with a view to their preaching the Gospel to the non-Christians; and at the same time, they were Chaplains to British regiments and communities."[1] Rev. C. F. Swartz, one of these missionaries, provides an elaborate account in his memoirs of the cooperation between the Company and the German missionaries.[2] These memoirs also reveal in one person the type of role missionaries assumed in India. The role was that of an independent middleman--a broker selling new ideas and a new religion, the products of the ruling authorities. The goods passed to the British authorities in exchange were the opinions, grievances, and desires of the Indian people. In this 'third-party' role, as a broker of those ideas held as important by the East India Company, the missionaries received the support and appreciation of the Company. As a lobby for the people of India, the missionaries most often were rewarded by the conversion of the Indian people. Swartz illustrates to a high degree this remarkable function performed by the missionaries. His memoirs include numerous letters written to the British authorities in India and also directly to England on behalf of Indian kings, ministers, widows, 'native' Christian, prospective employees, and so forth. What is of

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[1] Bishop Stephen Neill, op. cit., p. 232.

[2] Hugh Pearson, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Reverend Christian Frederick Swartz, (London, J. Hatchard & Son, 1835).

particular interest is that more often than not his suggestions were listened to and accepted. An extraordinary example of this function was Mr. Swartz's plea to the British authorities to establish in Tanjore a system for "a rational administration of justice, without which both king and subjects cannot prosper . . . a country without justice is a ruined country."[1] He then presented a detailed eighteen-point program for the administration of justice. As the system of administration was being worked out in Tanjore the British resident and Collector wrote to the Government that, "The Rev. Mr. Swartz was consulted agreeably to the Board's orders, upon every material step we have hitherto taken; a line of conduct we shall continue invariably to pursue." In response to this the Government advised the local authorities to avail themselves "of the knowledge and experience of Mr. Swartz, and to consult with him freely; as his known probity and love of justice entitle him to every attention on the part of government."[2] Not all missionaries moved in such high circles of government power, however, it is true to say that the unusual position occupied by missionaries in colonial India gave them opportunities to influence the processes of government on the one hand and the people of India on the other. In his memoirs Rev. Swartz mentioned a number of fellow-missionaries who served in the dual

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[1] Ibid., pp. 158 ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 179.

capacity of missionary to the Indian people and chaplain to the British community in India. It was the East India Company which created this opportunity when they turned to the missionaries to provide for them the religious services demanded by their directors and by their personnel. This specific matter will be studied in more detail later. What is significant is the precedent established early by the Company to use missionaries to carry out the religious services for which it felt responsible.

Typical of the way this arrangement worked was the appointment of Dr. Rattler to take charge of the church at Vepery, in Madras. The appointment was made by the Madras District Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. This action was taken in December, 1817. The special concern of the committee was that the Government might continue the allowance it paid to Dr. Rattler. They wrote to the Governor-in-Council that, "the Rev. Dr. Rattler used to perform Divine Services in the Tamil language at the Black Town Chapel and as Dr. Rattler received from the bounty of Government for that duty a monthly stipend of 25 pagodas, the Committee beg leave to express their hope that the arrangement will meet the approbation of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council and that the same gratuity may be continued to Dr. Rattler for the performance of duty to the same congregation now removed to the

Vepery Church." This letter was signed on the 12th of January, 1818, by Mr. R. Clarke, Secretary to the Madras District Committee of the Mission Society.[1] Mr. R. Clarke was also secretary to the Government in Madras. It is of interest to note the membership of this committee for it reveals the close unofficial working arrangements between the Mission Society and the government. In addition to Mr. Clarke four other persons were officers in the government--Captain Ormsby, Major De Havilland, Mr. P. Cleghorn, and Mr. John Gwather. On the committee there were two missionaries of the S.P.C.K.--Rev. H.A. Keating and Rev. M. Davis. Two Indian Christians completed the committee--Mr. Colarieb Venamaiah and Mr. I. Casamaiyer. The Company officers formed the majority of members of the committee in charge of the management of the Mission Society. The reply from the Government to this came quickly:

> To the Madras District Committee for the
> Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
>
> Gentlemen:
>
> I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter with the papers which accompanied it, and to state that the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council agrees that the allowance of twenty-five Pagodas per mensem shall be continued to Dr. Rattler, provided it to be found that the native Christians, on whose account he officiated in Black Town Chapel, are able to attend his ministry in the Missionary Church at Vepery.
>
> Signed:
> 21st January, 1818. D. Hill, Secretary to Government.[2]

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[1] Consultations of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 21st January, 1818.

[2] Ibid., 21st January, 1818.

The Government granted the allowance for the support of this missionary. More notable than the allowance was the fact that it was given because he officiated in Tamil to "native Christians." In this decision was revealed the positive activity of the Government in support of the program of the Mission Societies.

A similar situation was reported by the Collector of Madura. He wrote the Government that "a Catechist had been sent from the Tanjore Mission who gave 3 pagodas per mensem. This was insufficient so the late Principal Collector gave in addition 5 Pagodas per mensem from the Ramnad Devastanam (a Hindu Temple) funds on the condition that the catechist should keep a school to instruct natives." This was later changed and enhanced. The Governor-in-Council "granted Rs. 14/ per mensem from public funds for the catechist to superintend the Protestant Church of Madura."[1]

An incident in the 'station' of Cuddalore reveals more facts about this accepted arrangement between the Government and the missionaries. Rev. E.I. Jones was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was also the "officiating chaplain at Cuddalore."

On March 19, 1840, Rev. E.I. Jones wrote a letter complaining that the "Divine Service was ordered stopped for Sunday

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[1] Ibid., 9th September, 1828, and 5th June, 1829.

March 15th by order of the Magistrate of Cuddalore. The reason given was that there would be a disturbance of the peace since this day coincided with the Mohammedan's last day of the feast of Moharrum." He felt that this was "a great discrimination against the Christians and totally unjust that they were deprived of their right to worship." He mentioned that Tamil evening services were held in the church. He closed by requesting "remedial action for the future."[1]

The magistrate, Mr. B. Cunliffe, of Cuddalore was asked to explain his action. He replied to the Governor-in-Council that it was "his opinion that he had acted on the basis of neutrality and non-interference for native religious practices, ordered by the Government."[2]

The Government took action on this matter in Resolution 142: "The Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council regrets that upon this occasion the Joint Magistrate should have considered it necessary to prevent the celebration of Divine Worship. He does not appear to have placed himself in direct communication with the principal Mussulman Inhabitants nor to have appealed to their good feelings, and to the desire for mutual accommodation as contemplated by the order

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[1] Ibid., 19th March, 1840.
[2] Ibid., April, 1840.

of Government in the Judicial Department under date of 5th June, 1837."[1] Again we see a picture of a missionary in the dual capacity of missionary and chaplain, exercising considerable influence in the government.

The widespread nature of this system can best be understood in a brief note to the Governor-in-Council from missionaries Chas. Blackman, P. Schaffter, G. Pettitt, J. Thomas, and S. Hobbs of the Church Missionary Society. They pointed out that, "there is no Chaplain at this station Tinnevelly and all clerical duties in the province are discharged by ourselves."[2]

An interesting variation occurred April, 1840. Rev. J. Thomas, a missionary at Nagapatnam of the 'Established Church of England' complained about the appointment of "missionaries of dissenting Churches" to officiate as Chaplains. His plan was that such an appointment of a missionary be from the Established Church. Whether in response to this or whether due to other pressures, the Governor-in-Council stopped the allowance for Rev. E.I. Jones at Cuddalore, missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the allowance of Mr. Griffith, a Wesleyan missionary at Nagapatnam.[3]

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[1] Ibid., April, 1840
[2] Ibid., February, 1840.
[3] Ibid., 18th April, 1840.

The appointment of missionaries as "officiating chaplains" became less frequent as the ecclesiastical establishment expanded, following the appointment of the Bishop in 1814. At one point, in 1843, the Governor-in-Council resolved that, until the Court of Directors ordered otherwise, he was "precluded from appointing missionaries to Chaplainsies."[1] This decision was by no means unanimous and dissenting minutes favoring the appointment of missionaries were sent by other members of the governing council. However, the informal system of cooperation between the Government and missionaries continued. In 1859 the Bishop reported to the Court of Directors that, "the services of the clergy from the voluntary societies at the out-stations. . . have been of the greatest benefit to the diocese. There is no part of the establishment that is working more satisfactorily and efficiently. There is scarcely a place where they are employed, that they have not been the means of raising flourishing congregations, and giving cause for gratitude amongst the people of their charge. There are several other small stations where it would be most desirable to obtain their assistance. . ."[2]

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[1] Ibid., 22nd November, 1843.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 96.

The Director of Public Instruction also reported that, "the exertions made by missionaries to bring within the reach of the natives the means of acquiring sound secular knowledge are deserving of recognition by, and the hearty assistance of the Government."[1]

Laymen Responsible for Christian Religious Programs

In its interest to provide adequate religious services the Company made a second unusual and very practical arrangement. The laymen were assigned religious duties either through government rules or by direct appointment. Under more normal circumstances this would have been unacceptable. Certainly it would have been totally unaccepted by the religious establishment in England. Without doubt the situation in India was abnormal. The Company was still interested in maintaining only a commercial enterprise in a non-Christian country. It was in their interest economically and politically to avoid the creation of a large permanent Christian religious establishment. But, in England the pressure and influence of the Puritans and Presbyterians on the Company was considerable. It was therefore quite understandable for the Company not only to invite the help of missionaries but also to ask the laymen-officers in their employ to assume

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[1] Ibid., p. 109.

major responsibility in providing those services normally reserved for the religious professionals.

Laymen served most frequently in the capacity of Lay Trustees of the churches. They were appointed to these posts by the Governor-in-Council. It was not until much later that ecclesiastical authorities had any part in the selection and appointment of Lay Trustees. The general functions of Lay Trustees are well outlined in a letter from the Bishop to the Governor-in-Council. The occasion of the letter was a controversy between some Chaplains and Lay Trustees regarding the relative position of the Chaplains. The Bishop wrote that, "Lay Trustees were appointed to act as representatives of the people, to assist the Chaplain, to present to the Bishop irregularities in conjunction with the Chaplain, to form a standing committee of management for all church matters, to take charge of the schools and charity funds, to see that the Church and burial grounds be kept and to represent the government through the Archdeacon any deficiency in property it is necessary to supply."[1] However, the Bishop did not include some of the other, and possibly more important, services provided by the Company's lay-officers. Numerous instances of controversy

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[1] Consultation of Government, Eccelesiastical Department, 23rd November, 1842.

between laymen and chaplains took place during the years under study. Examination of some of these give us a more complete picture of the part played by laymen in the work and service of the Christian religion.

The civil and sessions judge of Nundial addressed a letter of complaint to the Chief Secretary of the Government about the Chaplain and Lay Trustees in the church. He wrote:

> The clerk of the Church at this station came to my house yesterday morning with a verbal message from Mr. Greathurst, one of the Lay Trustees, requesting me, in the absence of Reverend Mr. Tanner, to make arrangements for performing the Burial service that evening over the remains of a pensioner (by name Robertson), who had expired on the previous afternoon.
>
> At a station without either Church or resident Clergyman I should, of course, have held it to be incumbent upon myself as Senior Judicial officer to fulfil, as far as in me lay, the sacred duties devolving upon ordained ministers, both as regards Sunday services, Burial, and Baptism. Such, however, not being the case here, where there is a regular Clerical establishment, with two officially appointed Lay Trustees, I did not consider that the performance of any capacity, but that provision for the same rested entirely with the Minister, and the Lay Trustees themselves, and I communicated this view accordingly to Mr. Greathurst. . . Both that gentleman and Colonel Cotten, his co-Trustee, having, however, maintained that it was so, and having, moreover, in their capacity as Lay Trustees individually refused to undertake the duty, I performed it myself on this occasion.[1]

A situation developed in Bangalore in which General Sewell, the Lay Trustee, complained to the Government that he

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[1] Ibid., 22nd September, 1864.

had been by-passed by the Joint Chaplains and they had sent an indent for the cost of repairs directly to the Government without reference to himself. In response the Governor-in-Council resolved to ask the Joint Chaplains at Bangalore to give an explanation of their actions which were "at variance with Government Order of 1st March 1833 whereby Lay Trustees appointed by the Governor-in-Council should concur with and sign indents for the church."[1]

An incident of another nature is revealed through a letter written to the Government by D.R. Perriman, a pensioner. In the letter Mr. Perriman complained that the Chaplain refused to perform the funeral services for his four-month old grandson. The reason the Chaplain, Rev. Shortland, refused is that the child "had not been baptized by an Ecclesiastic instead of a Layman. . ." Mr. Perriman went on to say he "perfectly recollected having seen a communication from the Right Reverend Bishop Spencer, in which His Lordship was of the opinion that Baptism administered by a Layman was valid."[2] The response of the Chaplain Rev. V. Shortland was to the effect that there was no need for a Layman to perform the baptism since he as Clergyman was available and could have performed the baptism.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 23rd August, 1843.

[2] Ibid., 21st April, 1846.

[3] Ibid., 19th May, 1846.

The whole matter of the position of the clergy relative to the laymen came into issue when Brigadier Perry commanding at Kamptee refused to allow the chaplains to visit the outstation of Nagpur. The Bishop addressed the Governor-in-Council, "In reference to the matter at issue, I beg most respectfully to submit to your Lordship in Council whether Brigadier Perry has not overstepped the limits of his authority in preventing the Reverend Chaplains from periodically visiting his outstation of Nagpur as directed by me and sanctioned by your Lordship in Council unless certain contentions specified by the Brigadier. . are previously complied with. It is directed that during the absence of a Chaplain at any station prayers should be read by some officer nominated by the Chaplain and approved by the officer Commanding but it was never contemplated that in the event of the Chaplain being unable to provide such a substitute the officer Commanding should have the power to prohibit him from paying such periodical pastoral visit. . . I beg to submit to your Lordship in Council, that it scarcely falls within a Brigadiers province to step between any Chaplain and the Bishop in carrying out the instructions furnished to the former for his guidance."[1] On several occasions previously the Bishop had requested that the Governor-in-Council clarify the position of

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[1] Ibid., March, 1842.

the clergy relative to the government officers. The outcome was the resolution of the Governor-in-Council that, "as to the relative position of clergy to military authorities: the clergy are subject to the spiritual jurisdiction and control of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop but they are also subordinate to the military authority of the officers commanding the stations and garrisons. . . who on their part should not forget what is due to them as Ministers of the Gospel."

All these incidents give a fairly complete account of the activities of the laymen in the Christian religious processes during the early years in British India. The laymen were completely responsible for the management of the Church and its property. Where no chaplain was present, and this was frequently the case during those years, the laymen conducted the worship services, read prayers, performed baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and in general did anything normally expected of the religious professionals in England. This was stated clearly in an official government resolution. "The Government is of the opinion, in the case referred, that sacred offices should be performed by the senior Judicial Officer at a station in the absence of an ordained clergyman."[2]

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[1] Ibid., 28th July, 1842.

[2] Ibid., May, 1844.

In one sense Christianity in India began as a service provided by a commercial agency for its personnel and its customers. To provide this service the Company used the most practical means available--the voluntary service of missionaries and the Company lay personnel. This arrangement did create quite a distinctive character in institutionalized Christianity. Contrasted to Christianity in England and the Continent this style of Christianity was less bound to a well-ordered set of rules and programs and less dependent upon ecclesiastical authority.

## The Christian Church Officially Established in India

As the Government became more aware of its moral responsibility in governing, one result was the appointment of the Bishop in India and a rapid expansion in the size of the Ecclesiastical establishment supported by the Government. As a consequence there was a proportionate decrease in the Government's reliance upon laymen and missionaries to perform the religious services in their own establishment.

An indication of the change in the Government attitude relative to the relationship between laymen and clergy can be seen in the directive sent by the Court of Directors. "Doubt not but a respect for Religion in the person of its ministers

will suggest the propriety of allowing the chaplain of the station to preside in all committees and meetings connected with the church."[1] As early as 1812 the government wrote to the Commerical Resident at Salem that in view of "the augmentation recently made by the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Establishment of Chaplains, the Honourable the Governor-in-Council is of the opinion that no necessity can in the future exist for the performance of the ceremony of marriage by any of the Company's civil servants. . . The Governor-in-Council likewise desires that some restrictions may be considered applicable to the ceremony of baptism, except in the case of such children as may be in a weak or precarious state of health."[2]

The Bishop in India was conscientious and regular in his request to the Court of Directors in London to increase the size of the Ecclesiastical establishment. Typical is a letter from the Bishop to the Court of Directors, dated June 10th, 1840. He wrote that "the number of chaplains in the presidency is altogether inadequate to meet the wants of the British civil and military residents and of the rapidly increasing Indo-British population. In consequence of this deficiency of sound and responsible instructors in the great truth of Christianity, the

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1 Ibid., 11th June, 1844.

2 Ibid., 23rd October, 1812.

wildest theories are gaining ground through this part of India, the inhabitants being necessarily left to the ministry of unauthorized and, humanly speaking, irresponsibile missionaries of all sects and opinions."[1]

The Christian Church an Unofficial Agency of the State

As the work of the Ecclesiastical establishment expanded it was natural that it should seek to reduce the direct control of government in its affairs. Simultaneously as the Company changed from a commercial enterprise to a government it became less interested in direct control and more interested in developing a new working arrangement. This change in relationship between the government and the Christian religion was made clear in Government Resolution dated 1st of November, 1815. Government orders were issued that "all matters connected with the Church Establishment originally disposed of in the Military Department have been transferred to the Civil."[2] This made it possible for the Bishop to exercise a degree of independent responsibility and for the Christian religion to assume an image of being independent from direct government control. In a letter to the Governor-in-Council the Bishop made his own position very clear. "I am at a loss why the Chaplains are to be so denominated

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1 Ibid., 10th June, 1840

2 Ibid., 20th October and 8th November, 1842.

(Military Chaplains) in an official correspondence. 'Military Chaplains' are not under Episcopal jurisdiction, whereas all the clergy of the Church of England in the Presidency are expressly placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras by the Letters of Patent issued by his late Majesty."[1]

Other changes followed to help create a new working relationship. In 1844 the Bishop suggested that, instead of the Governor appointing the Lay Trustees directly, the Chaplain in charge of a local church recommend for his church the names of the Lay Trustees to the Governor who would then appoint them, "because otherwise the Chaplains get no support."[2] The Governor-in-Council approved this suggestion and immediately issued orders during the same consultations.[3]

It must be understood that the Christian religious institutions were at the same time careful on their part to maintain a close relationship with the government. It was in their interest to keep the attention and support of the government. There is no indication in the records that any of the Christian religious institutions were interested in becoming completely independent. There was never any question raised about the Governor

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[1] Ibid., 18th June, 1842.
[2] Ibid., 16th May, 1844.
[3] Ibid., 16th May, 1844.

"appointing" the Lay Trustees. The Bishop's recommendation was that the Chaplains "nominate" the Lay Trustees. In fact the Bishop encouraged the Churches of English Mission Societies to adopt the same pattern in their relationship with the Government as the Company established Churches. In 1844 the Bishop forwarded a letter, together with his recommendation, from Rev. Knox of the Mission Church in Black Town. "Since it is neither a civil nor military station," the Bishop recommends that "Lay Trustees be appointed from the community--one from the class of Europeans and one from the class of East Indians." The Governor-in-Council approved this suggestion in a government resolution.[1] The Christian religious institutions were at least as interested as the government in working out a style of partnership which expressed their mutual interest and goals.

The matter of the appointment of the Chaplains was a more difficult issue. For more than a century the Court of Directors had appointed and assigned the Chaplains either directly or by the authority of the Governor-in-Council. This became an issue when the Bishop reassigned a Chaplain and appointed a missionary from a mission society to officiate as Chaplain. The Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor-in-Council and President of the Consultations, issued a minute in which he observed that, "the Bishop has entrenched upon the perogatives

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[1] Ibid., 7th October, 1844.

of the Governor of the Presidency, who alone has the right to nominate and appoint Chaplains. The Bishop has only the right to grant leaves (not extra-ordinary) and be consulted for 'new arrangements of Chaplains,' but this has no reference to the appointment or location of Chaplains under ordinary circumstances."[1] The Bishop replied, "taking exception to the Council's opinion that Chaplains are appointed by the Governor who may solicit the advice of the Bishop. The Bishop is of the opinion that he has been authorized to nominate Chaplains to station and recommend transfers."[2] The Secretary to the Government of India wrote to correct the opinion of the Government at Fort Saint George and quoted from the Letters Patent granted to the first Bishop: "All nominations of the Honourable Company's Chaplains to particular stations under the respective Presidencies do in future originate with the Lord Bishop. . . such nominations by the Bishop should not in any case, save for reasons assigned, be interfered with by the Government."[3]

On the 31st of August, 1843, the Bishop wrote to the Governor-in-Council suggesting redistribution of Chaplains and the appointment of some missionaries to chaplainsies. He indicated that this was "necessary for Ecclesiastical purposes and parochial purposes."[4]

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1 Ibid., 24th June, 1843.
2 Ibid., 26th August, 1843.
3 Ibid., 31st August, 1843.
4 Ibid., 31st August, 1843.

On November 6th, 1843, the Governor-in-Council, Tweeddale, issued another minute stating that "since they have heard nothing further from the supreme Government regarding the appointment of Chaplains, he proposes to pursue the course hitherto followed--namely to appoint Chaplains seeking the judgement of the Bishop of the appointment made."[1] The other members of the Consultation disagreed.

The Secretary to the Government of India wrote to the Madras Government that "they are of the opinion that (the Bishop's nomination of Chaplains) is not at variance with the order of the Court of Directors of 1816 and the Governor-in-Council trusts that the most Honourable the Governor-in-Council will see fit to adopt that course at Madras, in like manner as it is adopted in Bengal."[2]

The Bishop complained to the Supreme Government of India about the "poor state of affairs in the Ecclesiastical establishment. . . caused by the Governor-in-Council Tweeddale's lack of cooperation in the nomination of Chaplains."[3]

The reason for the controversy is not hard to understand. Up to that time the Court of Directors had appointed all Chaplains and they had been under the direct authority of

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[1] Ibid., 6th November, 1843.
[2] Ibid., 6th January, 1844.
[3] Ibid., 27th January, 1844.

the Governor as any other Company 'servant.' The Bishop, while accepted by the Company, was not an appointee of the Company. To clarify the issue the Governor requested the advice of the Advocate General of the Government. He wrote, "The Bishop has jurisdiction over the Chaplains appointed by the Honourable the Court of Directors to serve in the Presidency to the extent of enforcing through Proceedings and Sentence in a Consistory Court held before him the due public observance of all these prescribed duties. . ."[1]

The Governor-in-Council issued a final minute to the effect that "he doesn't agree but will follow the Bengal pattern as suggested. The Bishop is requested to recommend and the Government will nominate."[2]

It becomes clear that this position of relative independence gave to the Christian religion the opportunity of being critical; it now had the freedom to object and oppose. Christian religious institutions used this opportunity to criticize both Indian society and the British Government. This unusual situation gave the Christian religion the position of being a 'friendly critic.' In exercising their opportunity the Christian religion publicly demonstrated religious freedom.

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1 Ibid., 25th July, 1842.
2 Ibid., 12th February, 1844.

Mr. Hyde in his book points to another development which changed the position of the Ecclesiastical department from that of a department to that of an independent agency in partnership with the government. He points out that following the year 1788 the Company's Chaplains were all appointed to stations where their ministry was fixed. Then they ceased to be, strictly speaking, military Chaplains and became all of them incumbents of quasi-parochial cures."[1]

At this point the Christian religious institutions had reached a new stage of partnership with the State. Each of these two institutions--the State and the Christian Religion--had adopted a position and program which unconsciously recognized natural common motives and goals. They shared a common heritage of ideals, beliefs, style of life, and system of politics. The Christian religion had for its principal goal to "lead the Heathen from darkness into light," that is, to change them. This was often referred to as "civilizing the heathen." As the Company's responsibility and interest in governing increased, it too became concerned in changing the moral values and life-styles of the Indian people to equip them for accommodation to the goals and programs of the ruling government. The Christian religious institutions proved to be valued partners of the State, willing

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[1] H. B. Hyde, op. cit., p. 1.

and able to promote the policies and programs of the State.

Because the State and the Christian religion shared so much in common it was natural that the Christian institutions were the voluntary agencies to promote the ideals and programs of the State and frequently to distribute the beneficence of the State. Without conscious awareness of what was happening the Christian institutions became the propaganda agencies of the State, promoting a type of government and style of life and behavior that was distinctly Christian and Western. They did this by direct preaching but more effective were the large number of schools they started and the subjects they taught.[1]

## Public Funds for the Expansion of Christianity

A measure of the increase in the size of the Ecclesiastical establishment can also be seen from the increase in expenditures in this department. Significant expenditure in this area did not take place until the beginning of the 19th Century and then it increased rapidly. By the year 1840 the total expenditure was rupees 293,068.6.2. Of this amount rupees 14,620.7.8 were expended on buildings and repairs.[2] The next year the amount spent was about the same--rupees 298,635.3.1 of which

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[1] Note that in a separate chapter to follow the subject of schools and education is examined and analysed in more detail.

[2] Consultations of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 13th April, 1843.

rupees 29,215.15.10 were spent on building and repairs.[1] In addition a sum of rupees 21,302.2.5 was spent for the Bishop's travel during the years 1839 to 1841.[2] On the 12th May, 1846, T.V. Stonehouse, the Accountant General, submitted to the Court of Directors a statement for the 1844/45: "I have the honor to forward, for transmission to the Honourable Court, a statement showing the expenses incurred on account of the Ecclesiastical Department in this Presidency, for the official year 1844/45 amounting to a aggregate to Company's Rupees Three lacs, forty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-eight and annas two. (Rs. 3,46,478-2-0)."[3] By 1860 the expenditures had risen considerably. The amount spent on new church and chapel buildings alone was rupees 287,375.0.0.[4] In this same year in just the one state of Punjab the public works department reported that "small churches. . . adapted for limited Christian communities are in progress in Gaorgoan, Kurnal, Hissar. . ." A total of fifteen are listed.[5]

It is of course significant to note the amount of money spent by the government for the expanding program of the Christian religion. It is more significant to realize that the money for

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[1] Ibid., 10th April, 1844.

[2] Ibid., 12th May, 1843.

[3] Ibid., 19th May, 1846

[4] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 94-97.

[5] Ibid., p. 157

these expenditures came from the land revenue collected by the British Company and later by the British Government. In fact it was the taxes paid by Hindus and Muslims that were used to support the entire large program for the Christian religion. It is quite clear that this money did not come from England nor from the mission societies who were supporting their own programs. It is also apparent that the size of the expenditure could not be justified on the basis that a large tax-paying Christian community existed in India. The Christian community was proportionately small. Almost all the Christians were landless and would have no occasion to pay taxes. The records also show that no similar expenditures were made toward the Hindu and Muslim religious establishments. The remarkable fact was that, over many decades, the land revenues collected through land taxes from the Hindus were used to pay the salaries of bishops and clergymen, to build and repair large numbers of churches and chapels, to build Christian schools and hospitals, and even to subsidize the missionaries' salaries and programs. To put it bluntly the Hindu was paying taxes in support of a program aimed at persuading him to renounce Hinduism.

## Christian Mission Societies and their Role in India

Because of the great change in the interest and policy of the British authorities governing India, by 1833 these authorities were prepared to welcome all missionaries to India. Within a few years the phenomena of the 'missionary movement' became a prominent feature of India's history. However, we cannot ignore the fact that even prior to 1833 the Court of Directors were already moving in the direction of adopting a policy of free admission of missionaries into India. In the year 1816 the Court of Directors sent a letter dated February 1, 1816, stating that "the Reverend R. Knill is permitted to proceed to this Presidency (Madras) as a missionary." On March 15, 1816, they wrote that, "certain persons are permitted to proceed to India with a view of introducing useful knowledge and religious improvement among the natives." Two more letters were written in 1816 permitting Mr. S. Randall, Mr. George Penny, Mr. R.I. Dawson, and Rev. B. Bailey to proceed to India as missionaries. The Court of Directors stated clearly that they viewed the purpose of missionaries in India as necessary for "introducing useful knowledge and religious improvement among the natives."[1]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 14th August, 1816, and 2nd November, 1816.

After 1833 the number of Mission Societies and missionaries in India from the European Continent and from America increased remarkably. In his study of American Missions in India Mr. Pathak notes that "American Protestant Missions during the period (1813-1910) though relatively smaller in number than the British, were richly financed and efficiently organized. . . there was an intensification of social activities in the field of American Protestant evangelism in India. These efforts were amply rewarded during this period through large-scale conversions and indirect diffusion of Christian principles and ethics . . . beginning modestly in 1813. . . American missionary activity expanded rapidly. . . By 1910 there were forty American missionary societies and some 1,800 American missionaries. . . Since they could not change Indian society except by persuasions, they reminded the Christian rulers of their duty of reform and gave moral support to progressive measures. . . For purpose of removing ignorance and spreading knowledge, they opened large numbers of schools. . ." This same author also takes note of the fact that the missionary phenomena gave to Christianity an appearance of independence from the State. It therefore tended to appeal to and persuade the Indian people. "Emotionally not being involved with the fortunes of Great Britain in India, American Missionaries even during this period, sometimes expressed

impartial judgements on the British rule. . . Missionaries formed an important channel by which Western values and Western knowledge were poured into India and spread through the spray of many mission stations all over the country. Their work aided the efforts of liberal administrators, rationalist Europeans, and Indian reformers who were trying to transform India on western lines."[1]

It is not our purpose to describe the historical expansion or the work of mission societies and missionaries. However, it is important to examine the interrelations between the government and these institutions of the Christian religion. The growth and proliferation of mission societies was a new social and historical phenomena. They were the products of the Western Christian Religious establishment but at the same time they maintained a position of independence and autonomy from the established church authorities back home. This was the natural result of difficulties in communication and because mission societies had their origin in the independent and highly individualistic revivalistic movements of Europe and America. In a sense, it was a "new"

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[1] S.M. Pathak, American Missionaries and Hinduism, (Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967), pp. 43, 134, 238.

[2] The history of the beginning and the expansion of the Missionary Movement and its impact on world history is a separate and fascinating aspect of history. A History of Christianity, by Kenneth Scott Latourette can be recommended. A large number of historical accounts of individual Mission Societies are available and some will be listed in the bibliography.

Christian instiutional phenomena; both were relatively free to establish a new style of operation. The Ecclesiastical establishment under its own Bishop had already moved into a position of relative independence. The new Mission Societies with their style of independence in programs and institutions gave additional strength to the overall appearance of the independence of the Christian religion from the government. Through the Ecclesiastical establishment and through Mission Societies a vast system of institutionalized processes had developed in India. This created a powerful and influencial social organization. By the very nature of its origin it was inherently a propaganda agency for much that the government wanted to introduce into society and the private lives of the people of India.

## Public Funds for the Support of Mission Societies

The Government provided its support to the Christian religious processes and programs in a number of ways. We have already indicated the payment of "allowances" to missionaries for work in the Company's Ecclesiastical establishment. As time passed the interpretation of what constituted the work of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Company became very broad indeed. We already noted that it could include ministerial care

of a "native Christian congregation."[1] Judging from the large support received by Mission Societies from Government public funds, we can conclude that although they were not official agencies of the Government they were none the less supported as part of the Government's program. Support for the educational programs operated by the many Mission Societies was one example; other direct means of support, and some devious means, were widely employed by the State.

One of the more simple methods was to pay to Mission Societies rent allowances for the use of churches wherever a few Company employees would attend for worship. This arrangement was recommended by the Bishop for a church owned by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He wrote to the Governor-in-Council that the Society's church at Palamcottah "is used by the Reverend the Government Chaplain and the English Congregation and it appears from the Reverend Missionary that no payment for the use of the same is received from the State."[2] In response to this recommendation the Court of Directors sent a directive to the Government of India. The Governor-in-Council then issued a resolution that "under the sanction here conveyed, the Government authorizes the disburse-

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[1] See p. 49.

[2] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 14th October, 1844.

ment to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts the sum of 35/ Thirty-five Rupees per Mensem as rent for the use of their church at Palamcottah commencing from October 1844, the date of the original application of the Diocesan Committee." This was the same as that paid for rent at Cuddalore for a church from the same Society. The Auditor General was asked to report on all similar cases.[1]

The government used its resources to assist in the construction and maintenance of churches and in the procuring of property for Christian religious purposes. It would be expected that they would do this for their own Ecclesiastical department. However, it must be noted that this assistance was extended to the Roman Catholic Church and to Mission Societies. Frequently the government would transfer to Mission Societies the buildings which had previously been constructed or secured for the Ecclesiastical department. Typical is the case of the Cochin Church. The congregation then at Cochin wrote to the government that they had agreed to transfer funds, property, and cash and "to deliver them over together with the church itself. . . to the Lord Bishop of Madras to be used on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."[2] The initial resolution of the government was: "1) The inhabitants have no

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[1] Ibid., 12th May, 1846.
[2] Ibid., 5th July, 1844.

absolute right over the Church; 2) this refers solely to their right to the free use of the Church for a minister of their own therefore there is no objection to it being used by the agent of the S.P.G." Subsequently the transfer was completed.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge reported as early as 1750 that, "through the good efforts of a General Boderius that the Governor-in-Council had agreed and resolved to the missionaries there into possession of a new built Church in that town, together with the lands and gardens belonging to it."[1] In 1787 the Society confirmed that their property at Vepery was this same property gifted to them by the government to the good offices of General Boderius.[2]

During the years under study the annual statements of expenses for the Ecclesiastical department contain a regular item of donations for the erection of Roman Catholic chapels. In 1841/42 the amount spent was Rupees 6,500.0.0.[3] For the year 1844/45 this amounted to Rupees 1,100.0.0.[4] These items are included as distinct from the items for church building and repairs considered a more normal part of expenditure under the Ecclesiastical department. As already noted, the amount spent on new churches was considerable.

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[1] Ibid., 28th July, 1844.
[2] Ibid., (No date), 1818.
[3] Ibid., 10th April, 1844.
[4] Ibid., 12th May, 1846.

Construction and repair of churches, like other government buildings, continued as the responsibility of the Military Department even after the transfer of Ecclesiastical affairs to the Civil Department. This continued in churches which had been transferred to Mission Societies even when the Society objected to this arrangement. In the case of the Vepery Church of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts the military had done some repairs. The Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel wrote to the Government to object to the Government undertaking repairs in the Mission church without prior permission of the Committee and then submitting to them a bill for one-third of the cost. "It would be more satisfactory, that the repairs required should be executed under their own directions, the Government contributing either two-thirds of the actual expenses incurred as at present and the entire cost where the English congregation alone is concerned." The Governor-in-Council responded with a resolution that the Government "cannot let the Committee do the repairs but will see that the officers don't undertake work unless requested by the Committee."[1] A letter from the Subordinate Judge, J.I.P. Harris, Bellary, explains the details of a controversy in the church there. In the course of the explanation he pointed

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[1] Ibid., 12th October, 1844.

out that "it was built by the Christians of Bellary and subsequently enlarged and repaired. . . by the Miliary Board at Madras on August 18th, 1829."[1] On an earlier occasion the Chief Secretary wrote to the Military Department that the Governor-in-Council had "sanctioned the plans and estimate of that building. . . amounting to Rs. 17,100.15.1." This was for the Mission Church in Black Town. At the same time he also sanctioned "the repayment of the expense incurred by the Church Missionary Society amounting to Rs. 7,934.6.30,"[2] for a church building. A letter from R.A. Denton reveals the continuing policy of Government to help Mission Societies in the building of churches. Writing for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge he remarked that "the Committee is emboldened by the liberality it has already experienced at the hands of the Government toward the erection of the new Mission Church at Vepery." The Government had already granted Rs. 43,000.0.0.[3]

On other occasions the process was reversed to the advantage of Mission Societies. In the course of its activities a Mission Society would construct its churches. If at a later date this Society desired to secure some public funds to support its local church and program they would arrange to transfer this

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[1] Ibid., 19th July, 1844.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 19th January, 1819.

[3] Ibid., 29th June, 1827.

church to the Government. They would receive compensation from the Government public funds which could then be used for the general program of the Society. At the same time, because of the informal relationship of mutual support between itself and the Government, the Society and its local congregation continued to enjoy the church building now transferred to the Government. Such was the case of S.P.G. Churches at Nagapatnam, Chittoor, Vepery, Black Town, Chicacole, and Rajahmundry.

Another source of money used to construct churches was from "penal fines" levied on cities or communities. These fines were imposed on the cities and communities in India by the colonial government in instances where those cities or communities were involved in disorder and civil disobedience. By far the largest amounts of "penal fines" were collected and used for the construction of churches following the mutiny of 1857. The record shows that, "The civil church in Lucknow, designed by Major Hutchinson, approaches completion. The cost of the edifice has been defrayed from the penal fines levied on the city of Lucknow."[1] The government also reported the "erection of a Church at Cawnpore as a memorial for Europeans slain in 1857 and to missionaries also slain. The Government has authorized

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India During the year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 103.

commencement of the preparation of materials, and promised to double the amount of subscriptions, to make the entire sum of Church, Rupees 1,20,000.0.0."[1] There is another report which states that a "sum of 25,000 rupees has been reserved from the cess levied on the city of Furruckabad for the erection of a new Church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the European troops and residents in place of that destroyed by the rebels. . . The church at Cawnpore, destroyed during the disturbances, has been almost entirely restored with funds derived from the cess levied on the city."[2] This points to the fact that the Government had decided in all seriousness to support and to seek the support of Christian religious institutions. It did not hesitate to use the resources of India and the funds collected from the Hindus by compulsion for the establishment and expansion of the Christian Religion.

There were several other methods by which the Government gave material support to the Christian Religious institutions. A few instances illustrate the dimensions of this support. The Bishop forwarded to the Governor-in-Council a request for a church bell from Rev. Trevor, Chaplain at Bangalore, on behalf of the native congregation. The Government sanctioned the

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[1] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, p. 68.
[2] Ibid., 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 19.

"bell for the use of the native congregation at Bangalore."[1] In answer to a similar request the Government resolved, "to supply a bell at the Vepery Mission Church from the public stores."[2] Prior to this the Church at Vepery had written directly to the Military Board which was responsible for all public stores. The Military Board wrote to the Governor-in-Council and asked "whether this is possible since the Church is the property of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge."[3]

Positive support was also given to Mission Societies through the use of these Societies for the distribution of Government relief. In answer to a request from Roman Catholic Missionary, Father Barreau, the Secretary to the Government, Mr. D. Hill, wrote that "the Honourable the Governor-in-Council having confidence in the correctness of the representations submitted in your letter of the 26th ultimo, and also in your humane and judicious appropriation of any funds entrusted to you for charitable purposes, will cause order to be issued to the Collector of the District to pay to you the sum of 100 pagodas for the relief of the distressed objects on whose behalf you have addressed yourself to the humanity of the Government. . ."[4] A letter to the Governor from a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 5th February, 1844.

[2] Ibid., 28th November, 1843.

[3] Ibid., 7th November, 1843.

[4] Ibid., 26th November, 1812.

the Gospel reveals interesting details regarding this aspect of the Government's largesse. He complained that "Wesleyan agents have broken into the yard of the church at Nagapatnam for a funeral which is a continuing tactic of the Wesleyan agents. . ." He then explained that until "1833 he had charge of the distribution of 40 pagodas allowed to the Protestant poor at Nagapatnam. . . . In 1822 Mr. Cotten (Collector of the region) gave this latter right to the Wesleyan Missionaries but it was returned."[1] On another occasion it was reported that "there was a dearth in the South of Travancore, and relief was disbursed to the suffering population through the Protestant missionaries. . ."[2] Such a close working arrangement could not help but reveal to the public the cooperation between the Government and Mission Societies. Such services performed for the Government by the missionaries unquestionably made an impression upon India society, particularly when some of this relief was given specifically for the "native Christians."

On the 28th of February, 1863, the Government in a letter to the Civil Paymaster at Fort William passed a decision admitting the higher rates of travelling allowance to certain Protestant Ministers not in the covenanted service of Government who

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[1] Ibid., April, 1844.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India During the Year 1860-61, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 274.

may visit outstations under competant authority."[1] In 1844 the Court of Directors had sent dispatches informing the Government that "Presbyterian ministers can also visit outstations and draw allowances."[2] This was another way for the Government to give support to the overall programs of the Christian religion.

A request of the missionaries from Madras discloses another area of Government support for Mission Societies. The missionaries ask for medical assistance from the Government. In reply the Governor-in-Council implements the suggestion of Alex Watson, M.D., the President of the Medical Board. He wrote, "We would respectfully suggest to your Honour-in-Council that Mr. Sergeant be directed to afford medical aid to the missionaries at Madras and that he be authorized to draw for the performance of this duty a monthly allowance of 100 rupees."[3]

Another feature which must be examined is the Government's support of the Roman Catholic missionaries and institutions. In a sense this was in general conformity to the policy to give support to Protestant Mission Societies. However, it does make it clear that the overriding Government motive for its support to the Christian Religion was not necessarily religious.

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, September, 1864.

[2] Ibid., 2nd May, 1844.

[3] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 31st May, 1819.

The question of the denominational theology of a particular Mission Society or even the question of the nationality of particular missionaries was not that vital. In the first instance Roman Catholic priests were admitted into Company service primarily to provide religious services for the Irish Catholic troops in India. The practise of paying allowances for Catholic priests continued, following the appointment of the Right Reverend P.I. Carew as Bishop by the "See at Rome." Thereafter the recommendations for the payment of allowances were sent to the Government by the Bishop. An example of this usual procedure was a letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop to the Secretary to the Government that he had "removed Rev. Mitchel from Cuddalore and appointed Rev. Zarrige in his place. The usual allowance may be paid to Rev. Zarrige." The Governor-in-Council "Resolves to pay the allowance and record the information."[1] In this particular case the matter of paying this allowance came up for reconsideration because "Captain Leggatt refused to recognize the Government order and pay Rev. Zarrige the regular allowance." In answer to the Bishop's letter to the Government the Secretary to the Government replied that "the Indian Government have no objection to paying Rev. Zarridge the usual Chaplain's allowance

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 9th October, 1843.

but would prefer that the Roman Catholic priests be from Great Britain."[1]

About this same time the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Right Reverend Dr. J. Fennelly, forwarded a letter from Chaplain P. Doyle with regard to the inadequacy of the allowance of rupees fifty per month the Government gave. Dr. Fennelly pointed out that "the clergymen who were here 40 or 50 years ago having had little intercourse with Europeans were able to subsist on one-fifth part of the amount which it now requires. . . the present misfortune is induced by the altered circumstances of the times. There is not one priest under my jurisdiction who would not rather live in the primitive simplicity of his predecessors, but he cannot. I would rather myself, but the thing's impossible--living in the neighborhood of persons who make away with 700, 1200, 1900 rupees in the month."[2]

This letter also indicates the shift in the position of the Christian religious institutions. They began as agencies to preach Christianity to the "heathen" and shifted into agencies in a quasi-partnership with the Government. They expected Government support in its programs and assumed that its programs provided service and support to Government policies and programs.

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[1] Ibid., 27th January, 1844. Note: A clear procedural difference was that the Roman Catholic Bishop addressed his correspondence to the Secretary of Government in charge of the Ecclesiastical Department. As already noted, the Protestant Bishop addressed the Governor-in-Council directly, as an equal.

[2] Ibid., 19th July, 1844.

Mention has already been made of money the Government gave for building and repairs of Roman Catholic Churches. A few additional instances could be added. A letter from the Subordinate Judge at Bellary in reporting a legal dispute between the Portugese and British Catholics includes the information that "St. Anthony's Chapel was built by the Christians of Bellary and subsequently enlarged and repaired. . . by the Military Board at Madras on August 18th, 1829, for the use of the Catholics of the European regiments at this station."[1] In another instance the Right Reverend Dr. J. Fennelly asked the Government to release the money it had set aside for St. Peter's Church at Rayapuram. It had been held because of a division in the Church. He stated that since September, 1835, they have at their own expense "maintained the service of that Church. . . at an expense of Company's Rupees 5,110.0.0. . . including the pay for native clergy Rev. P. Emmanuel. . . . Myself and my predecessors have been prevented from drawing upon these funds by the most unmeaning dissentions of the Boatmen amongst themselves--dissentions which are likely never to have an end and which appear to have no foundation except in the strange perversity of the Hindu character."[2]

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[1] Ibid., 19th July, 1844.

[2] Ibid., 27th January, 1846.

Christian Burial Rites Fostered and Protected by Government

More significant perhaps was the involvement of the Government in providing burial grounds for all Christians in India including the "native Christians." A dead human body is always a social affront to the living and the method of disposing of a dead human body is always highly symbolic of the essential religious faith of a society. Keeping this in mind, the effort of the colonial government to provide special protected areas for the preservation of dead bodies was an assault on the sensibilities and faith of Hindus. This accounts for the frequent controversies that occurred because of burial grounds, particularly when they involved "native Christians." Although the colonial government was publicly committed to a policy of non-interference in Indian society this was another area in which, because of its own overriding sense of Christian values, it helped create a significant socialogical phenomena.

The policy of the government on this issue became clear at the time of a controversy between the "established churches" of the Ecclesiastical Department and a Mission Society. Rev. Hubeck of the Basal Mission wrote to the Bishop for permission to "continue burial of native Christians in the cantonment grounds." The Bishop forwarded this letter to the Governor-in-Council with his own comment, that he is, "surprised at the

request, it being, I believe, the universal practise throughout India for the bodies of native Christians to be interred by their pastor in ground set apart for that purpose. They cannot sanction of burial except by service of the Church of England. The Court of Directors have issued instructions that in every cemetery hereafter enclosed, a portion of it should, in every case, be set apart for parties (being Christian) who may differ in their faith from the Church of England. Finally the burial plot at Cawnamore is inadequate."[1] The Government resolved that, "if the burial plot is inadequate at Cawnamore, to admit a portion of it being set apart as a place of internment for the native Protestant Christians the Collector of Malabar allot a space adjoining or find another suitable spot."[2]

Another similar incident sheds additional light on Government policy. Rev. S. Stubbins, a missionary of a "dissenting church" wrote to the Governor-in-Council "for redress." Apparently a Chaplain of the Government established church, Rev. Whitford, had ordered that, "1) a non-baptized child could not be buried in the official burial grounds of the established church and; 2) it must be conducted in the prescribed church form; and 3) it must be officiated at by the appointed Chaplain or the highest civil authority. This would exclude dissenters--

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 20th July, 1842.

[2] Ibid., 2nd August, 1842.

Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists—from the use of the burial grounds and compel them to the use of the burial service as contained in the Book of Common Prayer. . ." to which the Dissenters "decidedly object."[1] The Governor-in-Council asked the Bishop for his "sentiments." The Bishop's sentiments, in brief, were: 1) he regrets that some of his clergy "unnecessarily parade the discipline of the Church;" 2) nonetheless the Chaplain's actions were "in line with the practices of the established Church in England;" 3) he reminds the "Dissenting brethren that the divisions from the established Church is their doing;" 4) he suggests that "they adhere strictly to the rule that only officially appointed persons officiate at burials and that the prescribed forms be used;" and 5) that "the Government allot a separate burial ground for dissenters."[2] The Governor-in-Council finally came to a decision and the resolution was: 1) it would be "impracticable to give a separate plot of ground to each sect at each station;" 2) it would not induce peace and harmony "to insist on the Church of England service for funerals of dissenters;" 3) since it is a very "sacred occasion" it is "best performed by the mode of practise they followed while living" and this would "hardly desecrate the common burial place" therefore "no particular burial service is compulsory."[3]

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[1] Ibid., 25th August, 1840.
[2] Ibid., 18th September, 1840.
[3] Ibid., October, 1840.

In another instance the Bishop forwarded to the Governor-in-Council a letter from Rev. W. Taylor, missionary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, in which he requested that "the present burial site for native Protestant Christians be protected or they be granted another similar site. . ." since the present site "was formerly granted to them by the Government."[1] The Governor-in-Council resolved that the Military Board do whatever was necessary to provide a site.

A point which must not be overlooked was the fact that the ritual of the Christian burial ceremony and the pageantry of its symbolism was basically the same for all persons. When we recall that many of those "native Christians" were social "outcastes" this becomes significant indeed. Within Hinduism the pomp and ceremony connected with the cremation of a wealthy and/or a high caste person was very great. The "Mohammedan" nobility and the rich built impressive permanent tombs. However, neither the Hindus nor the "Mohammedans" practised a significant social or religious ritual when the lower class of citizens died. In fact to do so would have been contrary to their notions of "karma" and "kismet." The equality of ritual and ceremony with which the Christian Religion buried all their dead was an affront to the social values and an assault on the religious

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[1] Ibid., 27th November, 1844.

sentiments of the Hindus of that day.

It was not surprising therefore that the local inhabitants of Madras complained to the Government against the Roman Catholic priests for "burying their dead near their houses which will force them to abandon their habitations and temples."[1] The Governor-in-Council asked the Revenue Board to look for another site.[2] The Board of Revenue replied that they "do not recommend the purchase of additional land for the Roman Catholic burial ground in Vepery since the owners are asking too high a price."[3] The Governor-in-Council issued a resolution "that the spot of ground for Roman Catholic burials not be purchased but the military authorities attempt to improve the present burial ground to make it less offensive."[4] Such instances of controversy apparently occurred throughout the whole period under review. In October, 1812, the Christian inhabitants of Wallajapettah, (near Tripilcane) complained to the Governor-in-Council that "when on October 18th they tried to bury a child the Nabob's people (Moors) obstructed them and outraged the corpse."[5] They were on the way to bury the child in ground that had been previously granted to them.

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1 Ibid., 30th November, 1841.
2 Ibid., 4th January, 1842, and repeated April 19, 1842.
3 Ibid., 29th April, 1842.
4 Ibid., 10th May, 1842.
5 Ibid., 27th October, 1812.

This issue was clearly stated by missionary Samuel Hubick, Cawnamore, of the Evangelical Mission Society of Basel, Switzerland, in a letter to the Government. He complained that "the Chaplain has forbade the burial of native Christians in the Cantonment which has been practised for many years." He requested that "the practise be continued and he be permitted to officiate." If not, "it will bring the reproach of the Heathen on the cause of God, for they lay great stress upon the estimation in which converts are held by the European community."[1] The Government was quite clear in its support of the Christian Religion as it performed the very significant rituals for the Christian dead. The Government could not help but be aware of the effect this was having on the Hindu people.

The Role of Government in Internal Christian Religious Disputes

Another aspect of the relationship between Government and the Christian religious institutions has to do with the role of the State in the disputes between various segments of the Christian religion. Initially the Company Chaplains were part of the establishment of the Military Department. The few Christian missionaries present were, as already mentioned, loosely integrated with the Ecclesiastical Department of the military. Disputes,

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[1] Ibid., July, 1842.

if any, were an internal department matter. The purpose in describing some of the disputes is not to relate Church History; rather, the incidents are included, in some detail, to indicate clearly the extent of the Government's involvement in the life and program of the Christian Religion. As we review these incidents it becomes clear that the Government considered its own interests closely interrelated with those of the Christian religious institutions.

As the British gained military supremacy over other European powers their territories were ceded to the British. The military treaties would also cover matters of religion. The Catholics in the French territories eventually came under the Ecclesiastical control of the Roman Catholic Bishop in Madras. The Portugese Roman Catholics, however, claimed that the treaty of cessation which they signed gave them "the right of nominating Roman Catholic Bishops in India."[1] In a later letter the Baron of Moncorva on behalf of the Portugese stated that "so great was the value set upon the nominations to the Bishopricks of the East Indias that when by the Treaty of 1665 Bombay was ceded over to Great Britain on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Catherine of Braganza with Charles the 2nd of Great Britain the nomination of the Bishop of that Diocese

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[1] Ibid., 12th April, 1843.

was reserved in perpetuity to the Crown of Portugal." The Under Secretary of the Foreign Office, the Earl of Aberdeen, replied to the Baron of Moncorva. He pointed out that "those Treaties contain no such reservation as that described by Baron Moncorva but simply provides that the inhabitants of the Island of Bombay shall continue to enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion."[2] He went on to point out that,

> In disputes concerning the possession of Roman Catholic Churches and their property, claimed equally by the Portugese Ecclesiasticals and by those acting under the authority of the See of Rome, the decisions have in certain cases, it is understood, been made in favor of those parties who could show a title by long possession to the Estate in dispute. . .[3]

It was much later that the whole of the Roman Catholic establishment came under the control of the See of Rome, but with the support and cooperation of the State, as already indicated.

Major conflict between Roman Catholic clergy and Protestant clergy involved areas of service in which both were concerned. The Roman Catholic clergy frequently complained to the Government that Protestant clergy were forcing their teachings on Roman Catholic members of the troops, on the Roman Catholic children attending regimental schools, and on native Roman Catholic Christians. On the 28th of February, 1843, Roman

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[1] Ibid., 18th September, 1844.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

Catholic Bishop Fennelly wrote to the Government complaining about the conduct of Rev. Shortland (a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, acting as Chaplain). "The Roman Catholic patient who had retired to the verandah when Shortland preached (at the military hospital) was ordered back to the cot by the Hospital Sergeant of the 57th."[1] In this dispute about visiting the sick in hospitals the Governor-in-Council resolved: "1) There is to be no impediment for Chaplains visiting the hospital at least twice a week according to Government rules; 2) Free access is given to Roman Catholic clergy and other ministers to visit the sick members of their own communion--no interference in the Chaplains' duties are permitted. Therefore they should not enter and exercise spiritual functions while the Chaplain is officiating. They can enter some other time or wait outside the ward until the Chaplain is finished."[2] The matter, however, did not end when the Government issued its orders. The next year Bishop Fennelly again complained about the hospital preaching of Rev. Shortland. "It is hard indeed, my Lord, that I must be mute, and he loud in his declamation on points of issue between Protestants and us. Is there any means of silencing Mr. Shortland or of allowing me the free use of my tongue?" The Governor-in-Council resolved to call on the Lord Bishop "to take

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[1] Ibid., 28th February, 1843.
[2] Ibid., 10th May, 1843.

necessary steps to prevent the hospital from being made the arena for polemical controversy."[1]

The Roman Catholic soldiers had to be present at the Protestant sermons. The Roman Catholic Bishop, the Right Reverend P.I. Carew, wrote to the Government about "the difficulty Roman Catholic soldiers face in having their children forced to attend regimental schools and compelled to learn the Protestant catechism, use the Protestant prayer book, Bible and Moral books if they wish to have use of the schools. . ."[1] The Bishop in a later letter suggested that "the Religious instruction of the Roman Catholic pupils should be left solely and entirely under the superintendence of their own Pastors." He then listed the books in the schools that could be used for Roman Catholic children.[2] The Governor-in-Council referred this matter to the "Supreme Government," but added that, "allowances granted to wives. . . shall in no case be made contingent on the attendance of their children at the Regimental Schools."[3]

Bishop Fennelly puts the whole issue in the strongest words in a letter to the Governor-in-Council where he takes exception to the comparison of public grants given to Roman

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[1] Ibid., 4th January, 1841.
[2] Ibid., 1st March, 1841.
[3] Ibid., 9th March, 1841.

Catholics and Protestants. He complained of "prejudice, and injustice in the amount of money coming to the Roman Catholics for church construction, Chaplains, etc., . . . which an anti-Catholic imagination might mistake for ample compensation to the Roman Catholic soldiers. . . Justice is yet but half done."[1]

The complaints were not all one-sided. The Bishop also wrote to the Governor-in-Council complaining that the "Master at the Regimental school (Bellary) is a bigoted Baptist and his assistant a no less bigoted Roman Catholic. . . only one child knows the catechism. . . at the Artillary school a private is teaching but here the Commanding Officer and his wife have insisted that the Watts catechism (Presbyterian) be used. . . the Chaplain complains that they have no authority in the schools and predicts the children in the Regimental school will turn out to be Baptists or Roman Catholics and the children in the Artillary School are on the fair road to dissent." The Government resolved to ask the Commander-in-Chief to "look into the matter and report."[2]

The point is that the State assumed the role of adjudicator between various Christian groups and in a variety of disputes. It acted as if the various institutions of the Christian Religion were really integral programs of their own Govern-

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[1] Ibid., 24th April, 1843.

[2] Ibid., 21st November, 1843.

ment department. We can also sense that those institutions of the Christian Religion, which did not or would not adjust its programs to harmonize with the policies of Government, found that Government decisions in their favor were rare or slow in coming.

It is important to remember that the Mission Societies which entered India were largely on their own and independent. For none of them did there exist an Ecclesiastical establishment of authority by which they could settle their disputes. The Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Company whether Protestant or Roman Catholic had the strong precedent of having any disputes settled by the Government--either by the Military, Civil, or Legal Departments. It was natural for the various Christian groups and institutions to expect this style of arrangement to continue and the Government to act as judge and advisor. It must be recognized that this arrangement further strengthened the public image of the Christian Religion being independent from, yet influencial in, the Government. This was a style of arrangement completely different from any previously known in India. The tradition had been that governments were interested only in the Hindu religion. The Mogol and Muslim rulers had demonstrated a single-hearted loyalty to Islam. Hinduism under Indian rulers and Islam under Muslim rulers had been State

religions. The Christian religion, on the other hand, presented many forms of Christianity to the Indian public. On the surface at least it seemed clear that this new imperial power was not imposing a particular religion. Further, it was noted that Christian institutions appealed to the Government for redress in a style similar to non-religious agencies. As will be seen later, it was not long before Hindu and Muslim institutions also went to the Government to have their disputes settled. The whole process became a preparation for a secular State in place of the strong religious State which had traditionally been part of India.

A last aspect of this subject must be examined before we conclude, namely the relationship between the State and the "native Christians." We have already established the point that the Government was actively supporting the expansion of the Christian ideals, values, and style of life. This of course implies that the Government was interested in supporting programs which made it possible for Indian persons to leave their traditional religion and become Christians. Mention has already been made of the 1701 Charter given by the British Crown to the English East India Company. This Charter "required the maintenance of Chaplains," and then the suggestion was added that Chaplains "apply themselves to learn, besides Portugese, the native language of the country where they should reside, the better to instruct the heathen servants or slaves of the Company or their agents in

the Protestant Religion."[1]

The Chaplains of the Company took seriously their obligation placed on them by the Charter. Rev. Whitford demonstrated his understanding of a Chaplain's responsibility when "he absented himself from Quilon and preached at Trivandrum to the native population in English, Tamil, and Portugese." A complaint was sent to the Government in Madras by the British Resident of Travancore, Major General W. Cullen.[2] In part the problem was that the Rev. Whitford did not get permission from his Commanding Officer.[3] In reply Rev. Whitford wrote to Major General Cullen that he, "regards it his duty as ordered by the Court of Directors to exercise pastoral and shepherd care of the people. Therefore the more his sheep are gone astray, the more diligently he should go and seek and stay there till he find and (please God) fetch them back into the fold."[4] Chaplain, Rev. W.P. Powell, had the same understanding when he wrote to the Government that "the Church of England not only by its missionaries but by its Chaplains also being essentially missionary and exhorted to more diligent attention to native Christians, who were, in a certain sense, the 'Poor' of the Church. . ."[5]

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[1] H. B. Hyde, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 23rd February, 1843.

[3] Ibid., 11th February, 1843.

[4] Ibid., 16th February, 1843.

[5] Ibid., 15th April, 1843.

We have previously pointed out the fact that a large number of Indians joined the British army. These were at times organized into "Native Regiments." It was understandable that many of these for a variety of reasons became Christians. At Bellary it is reported that "about the year 1804 the native Christians belonging to the force under the Command of Campbell . . . stationed in the Fort of Bellary as well as the other battalions encamped outside the Fort, felt the want of a church and of a Priest. . ." This same report continued about Saint Francis chapel in Cawlbazaar in Bellary and mentioned that it had "received the necessary repairs at the expense of the native Christians belonging to the Regiments then in garrison."[1] There are additional reports which reveal the extensvie presence of "natives" in the army of whom many became Christians. The Governor-in-Council wrote to the Board of Revenue that "the Collector of Masulipatnam may be instructed to take the necessary measure for procuring building ground for the native Battalion at Ellore."[2] Apparently the advantages for the Indians joining the army were considerable. They were provided the necessities of life—something that those in the armies of the Hindu or Muslim kings never enjoyed. In addition the children of these soldiers enjoyed the opportunity of attending Regimental Schools. Even the adult soldier could

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[1] Ibid., 19th July, 1844.

[2] Ibid., 23rd September, 1823.

attend on payment of fees. The military authorities indicated that "the rules regarding the sums payable to those attending Regimental Schools applies only to adults who may wish to get instruction, it does not apply to children."[1] Education for the children of soldiers was free.

The extensive support given to Mission Societies has already been reported. In essence this support was indirectly intended for the Christian religious programs carried on among the Indian nationals. The Government provision for cemeteries for the use of "native Christians," already reported, was another area of active support to the total promotion of Christianity. It is not insignificant for native Christians to possess the rights to cemetery property. Many of the Christians had no rights to possession of any properties since they belonged to the untouchables. For people with no significant enduring possessions, a small plot of ground in which to be buried has its importance. Similarly the churches built for and given by the Government to the "native Christians" was highly significant socially. In a highly dramatic public display those who were "outcastes" of Hindu religious institutions now had in their own possession religious institutional buildings to match the temples and pagodas of the Hindus. For the underprivileged

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[1] Consultation of Government, Military Department, 28th June, 1842.

the possession of property was symbolic of their new worth and social status. We therefore cannot ignore the social significance of a resolution by the Governor-in-Council "to build, at public expense, a church for the native Protestants of Madras."[1]

In the next Chapter there will be a lengthy discussion of the Government's involvement in the changing of social customs. The Government first became concerned when they felt responsible to introduce some specific laws and regulations to cover the rights and customs of the "native Christians." Since many of these native Christians had abandoned their traditional social groups alternate arrangements had to be devised for the social recognition of their customs. The Government therefore instituted new inheritance laws and new marriage regulations. The Government as primary authority of society gave official recognition and registration for the marriages and the new rules of inheritance. Subsequently these were extended to all of Indian society.

The Government became most deeply involved with the Indian Christianity at times when the Christians were involved in disputes with the non-Christians. It was natural for the Indian Christian to turn to the Government for support at the times of dispute. Most of them had become Christians through

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 15th May, 1818.

Chaplains, Officers, or Missionaries in the employ of the Government. From another point of view it was just as natural for the Government to extend support to the Indian Christians. After all the Government was primarily responsible for the beginning and expansion of Christianity among the Indian people. These controversies were almost always concerned with issues involving a new style of the Christian's life--a new social form which created for them a different position from that of their traditional place in Hindu society. Changes in ceremonies dealing with death and marriage have already been mentioned.

On the 3rd of May, 1841, the Right Reverend P.I. Carew forwarded to the Government a petition "from some native Christians from Cuddapah. . . for the protection of the Government against certain grievances and annoyances which the petitioners suffer from the Heathens in their vicinity." The petition of Innasappah and I. Royappa Reddy was addressed to Lord Elphinston, Governor-in-Council. It stated that,

> A group of Reddys of three villages prevented the service castes--Barbers, Washermen, and Potters--from serving them because of our being Christian contrary to their sect. . . A priest brought the case to the notice of the Collector Mr. Blane. Mr. Blane sent for the opponents and Tahsildar of the locality. He decided the Tahsildar was the cause of this revolt and suspended him from his situation for six months. He also deprived our opponents of the headmanship in the villages and sent them to trial in the criminal court. He also ordered the village servants to serve us.[1]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 3rd May, 1841.

The petition then went on to complain of the more recent aggravations for which they again seek Government help. The social involvement of the Government in this instance was very deep. The decision and action of the Government went against the traditional Indian social authorities and indirectly it was an attack on the Hindu religious support for the traditional structure of society.

The disputes for which Government help was most frequently requested involved the use of land and sources of drinking water. Hindu society was strict in controlling the use of drinking water and the ownership of land by caste and tradition. The "native Christians" encouraged by the Bishop and by missionaries demanded the use of drinking water and common land to which by tradition they had no right. This was the case of a letter of complaint sent by the Bishop on behalf of the "native Christians of Vallavaram. . . who were prohibited from using the water in a reservoir. . . from the circumstances of being Pariars. . ."[1] The Christian inhabitants of Wallajapethah addressed a complaint to the Governor-in-Council to the effect that they "had been granted 21 3/8 grounds for our Church." But when they tried to construct a larger church "the Collector

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[1] Ibid., 15th November, 1844.

impeded the further building saying that the ground belonged to the Nabob."[1] Another dispute regarding land for church construction occurred in Chingleput. The Priest for the native Christians wrote to the Government that a piece of ground which they had requested for a Church building was refused to them because the "Gramatars (elders). . . professing a religion quite contrary and against the Catholic faith were unwilling to allow a church to be built in their neighborhood. . . They state that the land is needed for their cattle."[2]

The native Christians were not always granted their petitions. However, the point is that they were a new element in Hindu society in a favored position with the Government and by the fact of their existence they were pressing society towards change. These changes were actively encouraged by the Ecclesiastical establishment of the Government and by missionaries, and were generally in line with changes that the Government itself desired for Indian society.

## Some Conclusions

Within the Indian context, during this period of time the State and the Christian Religion developed a new pattern of working together. Removed from the immediate traditions and

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[1] Ibid., 27th October, 1812.

[2] Ibid., 6th February, 1842.

authorities in the West, they could more freely create a new style of operation; immersed in a culture and society totally non-Christian a different modus operandi would necessarily be created. To this must be added the fact of the rise and rapid expansion of Mission Societies in India. This was a new phenomena of the Christian Religion and had to be taken into account by the Government. At the same time its role in society had to be worked out.

The need to establish mutually acceptable working arrangements between the State and the Christian religious institutions was due to the shift in the interest of the East India Company from that of commerce and trade with the Indian people to that of a Government for the Indian people.

As we have observed, a kind of semi-official partnership developed between the State and the Christian religious institutions. They had much in common--ideals, beliefs, programs, and style of life. The semi-official nature of their alliance had the advantage in that the State could give support and sympathy to the Christian Religion and its institutions and at the same time appear to the public as neutral and objective in their treatment of the Religions of India. The State could also depend on the fact that the processes and programs of the Christian Religion were basically those which would assist the

State in its government and in its purpose to reshape Indian society and change it from a "heathen" to a "civilized" society.

For the Christian Religion the partnership had the distinct advantage in that it enjoyed the support of and preferential treatment from the State while at the same time to the public it appeared as a third-party independent agency. It was the unconscious and semi-official Public Relations agency for much that the Government wanted to promote; but, at the same time it was sufficiently independent so that the Indian people did not hesitate to turn to the Christian chaplains and missionaries to represent them in their requests for Government help. In a sense, the Christian religious institutions acted as brokers to the Government and the Western world for the ideas, desires, and products of Indian society and religion.

This arrangement of cooperation with the Government was one of mixed blessing for the Christian Religion. Obviously it prospered and expanded materially. However, it also acquired a hard coat of foreignness through this informal but close working arrangement with the colonizing Government. This "foreignness" of the "native Christian" community and its basic loyalty to the British Government in India can be detected from a report issued by the Government after the 1857 mutiny. Apparently the native Christians were never suspected as were the other religious

groups. In 1859 it was reported that the Chief Commissioner "did not yet withdraw the general search order under the Arms Act. But, he exempted Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians."[1]

It must also be recognized that by establishing itself in the Indian situation as an independent agency, the Christian Religion presented to the Indian people, for the first time, a free and open choice of an alternate religion. Islam entered India at the point of a tyrant's sword. Under such circumstances change of religion was motivated by fear and the social consequences were continuing fear, suspicion, and hatred. Christianity, on the other hand, had to rely on persuasion as its main method and the consequences were more likely to be a continuation of serious examination, criticism, and doubt.

Perhaps in part it was due to the fact that it entered India on the strength of a commercial enterprise. Christianity came as a product of a merchant. One may doubt the veracity of a merchant and carefully examine the goods he offers, but normally noone needs to be intimidated by a merchant. Even if we accept as truth the assusation often made against Christianity that it bribed the Indian people in order to gain converts, we

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 200.

must admit that bribery is an instrument used to persuade rather than to instill fear. If at its worst Christianity, appealing to human avarice, used direct or indirect forms of bribery, it was none the less an attempt to persuade people to accept Christianity. In offering bribes, if such they can be called, Christianity was placing a material value on itself. It was willing to give something of itself of immediate value to have people become Christian. This stands in contrast to the indigenous Indian religions which demanded material support from the people but in exchange only offered amorphous spiritual blessings at some indeterminate time. Even this was therefore distinctly different from anything known before in India.

As a social phenomena Christianity demanded that a choice be made. By being there it posed the idea that social and religious choice, and therefore freedom, was possible for all Indians. This must be seen in contrast to the rigid Hindu social system and the spiritual determinism implicit in the Hindu belief in Karma. The concept of free choice was the foundation for later changes in India.

An additional point to be noted is that in the Indian situation the State acted as a unifying agent for the processes and programs of the diverse institutions of the Christian religion. But, this was not accomplished by the State through

legislation. Rather, this took place because of a large degree of mutuality and interdependence that developed between the State and the Christian Religion.

A final observation becomes clear from our study and must not be omitted. The institutionalized processes of the Christian Religion learned the inexorable law of survival for any institution of society. To survive as an institution in Indian society the Christian Religion had to establish for itself a role and function useful in the estimate of society and the State. The record reveals an agency that by its nature and development proved itself useful to the State. The converse would probably have proved true and society and the State would have discarded the Christian Religion if it had not clearly established its social and political usefulness. In the next Chapter we will observe that Hinduism entered a period of extreme difficulty because the State had decided that it could not serve a useful purpose in the Society the Government sought to create.

The Bishop gave a partial but good summary of this aspect of our study. "We must appreciate," he said, "the blessing of the Church in India and indirectly to the natives and I hope it will receive the continued support of the Governor-in-Council."[1] In our study so far it has become clear that the

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 7th November, 1844.

State gave consistent and substantial support to the institutionalized processes of the Christian Religion. Apparently the State did not believe that the active support of the Christian Religion from public funds in any way constituted interference in Indian society and culture. The next Chapter will contain additional data to demonstrate that it cannot be assumed the British Government in India, or for that matter any government anywhere could, in fact, govern and not "interfere" in society, culture, and religion. This "need" for the State to "interfere" in society, culture, and religion will always be greatest at the time of crisis. That the Government gave ample support to the Christian religious enterprise cannot be disputed; and that the institutionalized processes of the Christian Religion with the support of the Government interfered with India's society, culture, and religion also cannot be disputed.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

When the British trading companies came to India they knew little about India's social structure, culture, or religion. As already mentioned, neither were they particularly interested in such matters; the great concern was trade and profit. It was only as the Company changed its interest from commerce to include that of governing that they began to take more than an academic interest in the culture and religion of India. It can be fairly assumed that initially they would try to understand society and religion in terms of the systems and beliefs of their own society and religion back in England. An early example of this sort of carry-over was the fact that the government referred to Hindu temples and pagodas as "churches." A Collector therefore would write about Annaswamy Pillay (dharmacartah of the Hindu temple at Tripilcane) as a "church warden" when in fact he had nothing to do with the Christian religion.[1] The dharmacartah was traditionally a person in charge of temple funds. Usually this would include management of the properties. The office of dharmacartah

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[1] Ibid., 27th March, 1823.

was inherited and belonged to a family of the priestly Brahmin castes. Out of their own experiences the British Government officials very understandably called the dharmacartah a "church warden." Because of this lack of understanding and given the immense difference in tradition, structure, and practice between Christianity and Hinduism, it can be understood that the Government was suspicious of Hinduism or at best viewed Hinduism as unreliable for its own purposes of governing.

We began this study with the assumption that a government must assume some responsibility for the moral and spiritual life of its citizens. This may be done directly or through a secondary agency. In a sense citizens expect their government to demonstrate genuine concern at the level of man's ultimate worth--his spirit. And, a government that intends to continue to govern must not only be aware of the spiritual aspirations of its citizens but must assume responsibility, either directly or indirectly, to influence and control the institutionalized processes of religion. Since both government and religious institutions deal with the same public, a degree of harmony between the two must exist, or quickly develop, or one of the two will disappear or at least cease to have a significant function in society; a degree of cooperation must exist or be created.

In the preceding Chapter it was conclusively demonstrated that the British Government in India chose to give substantial

support to the Christian religious institutions. In giving this support to the Christian religion the Government was apparently saying to the other religions that they should alter their religious practices and spiritual aspirations and fit into the Colonial government's plans, programs, and their Western style of life. They hoped that these non-Christians would be "converted from heathenism and ignorance."

This situation placed the non-Christian religions in an unusual position. On the one hand, in all spiritual matters they had the allegiance of the vast majority of India's citizens. On the other hand, they were out of step with those who governed the land. Under those circumstances several things might have developed. The Government could have made the non-Christian religions illegal and tried to irradicate them. The Moslem rulers prior to the arrival of the British had in fact tried, not too successfully, to adopt this method in India. This approach had proved successful to some governments. However, the British Government in India had begun as a commercial enterprise seeking trade and profit. It had not arrived as a military power with conquest in mind. To abolish the religion of the people with whom it wished to trade would hardly fit into the pattern of operations of the East India Company.

The Hindu religion could not be ignored and left to its own devices. To do so would not help develop among the

people a desire to cooperate with the Government. In fact if the non-Christian religions were left alone they remained a potential disrupting force, as in fact they proved to be during the mutiny of 1857. The non-Christian religions in India (particularly Hinduism and Islam) were old and well established. They could not be ignored.

The course followed by the British was to make decisions and initiate action aimed at changing the non-Christian religious practices and beliefs to make them compatible with the Government's desires and designs. This course was chosen not because of a specific policy decision but, rather, it developed out of the situation, the sitz im leben, in which the British governed in India. It has become clear from our study that the Government was anxious to "convert the heathen Indians," whether this was a goal consciously chosen and publicly expressed, or whether it was unconsciously assumed, hardly matters. The significant fact was that Government actions and decisions did change the character and structures of the non-Christian religions. What becomes clear is that the Government permitted broad religious freedom to that religion--Christianity--which was basically in conformity with its own goals and programs. However, by the same token, the Government limited the freedom of the non-Christian religions in direct proportion to the degree in which they differed from the purposes and programs of the Government.

Again we must make clear that there was no specific action of Government denying or restricting religious freedom as such. The State was primarily concerned with changing practices and structures in the Hindu religion which would bring it into a degree of harmony with the beliefs and practices of the Western Government. This was not considered interference in religious freedom but rather as a benevolent exercise to "civilize humanity" in India.

## Government Control of Hindu Religious Institutions

The whole matter came to an issue when a major controversy developed between the Government and the Hindu religious authorities at the Tripilcane temple. The controversy began simply enough when the dharmacartah discharged a temple servant. The person dismissed was a Moneygar with special responsibility for the temple money and jewels. The Moneygar appealed to the British Collector who ordered the dharmacartah to restore the Moneygar. The Moneygar had also reported that the temple money and jewels had been moved from the regular room in the temple compound. The Collector then "ordered the dismissed Moneygar assisted by Peons to seal the jewels, ornaments, etc., which was done accordingly." The justification of the Collector was that "the dharmacartah appointed by the Government refused to

restore a Moneygar who had been by him long before dismissed."[1] Just prior to this action by the Collector, the Secretary to the Government informed Annaswamy Pillay, dharmacartah in charge of the Tripilcane Pagoda, that his desire to have the dharmacartah in "attendance at their office this day with your accounts had in view the ascertaining the security of the Pagoda property. From your answer just received stating your inability to attend for the next week it appears that a writ of sequistration was issued yesterday against you by the Supreme Court on information filed by the Advocate General regarding your administration of an Estate. . . The Board of Revenue in consequence consider it necessary for the safety of the Pagoda property that it should be placed for the present or until suit in question is decided, under the custody of the Collector of Madras and you are hereby directed immediately to make over to him all the jewels, bonds, money and other property belonging to the Pagoda."[2] The dharmacartah then filed a suit of unlawful trespass into the temple by the Collector. The Advocate General pointed out that since the Collector had proceeded in that action against the temple without a direct order from the Governor or the Board of Revenue the very authority of the Government over Hindu temples was at

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[1] Consultation of Government, Revenue Department, 29th March, 1823.

[2] Ibid., 19th March, 1823.

issue. In the proceedings of this case were revealed the full extent of the Government's relationships to Hindu religious institutions.

The position of the Government was clearly stated by the Secretary to the Government, Mr. D. Hill. In a letter to the president and members of the Board of Revenue he stated that,

> According to the usage of the country the appointment of the dharmacartah at every pagoda and the control over the management of its affairs is vested in the Collector who is general dharmacartah of all Pagodas in his District. This usage must easily be admitted of being established by ample proofs with respect to the Tripatty Pagoda /the principal one in the contry/ and as many more as may be thought necessary. It must also have prevailed in Madras and has been evinced in the constant appointment of the dharmacartah by the Collector and probably in many other circumstances in which incontroversial evidence could be afforded. . . With regard to the collections by which. . . the Tripilcane Pagoda is said to be supported you will. . . desire that they be made by the Collector and withheld from the dharmacartah until the law-suit be withdrawn.[1]

The control by the Government of Hindu temples through District Collectors was apparently generally accepted. The suit filed by the dharmacartah of Tripilcane was the first of its kind. It brought into question the authority of the Company's Government in India to manage Hindu temples. The Company solicitors under the direction of the Advocate-General prepared an elaborate brief for the Governor-in-Council. This included a detailed review of the entire case.

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[1] Ibid., 18th March, 1823.

The action in the Supreme Court was commenced "against the Collector of Madras by the dharmacartah of the Tripilcane Pagoda for an alleged trespass in sealing certain boxes containing jewels, title deeds, and accounts belonging to that Pagoda." The Collector of Madras claimed that he had proceeded against the dharmacartah under Regulation VII passed "the 30th September, 1817, for the due appropriation of the endowments and revenues of Hindu Temples, etc., and by which a Collector is ex-officio appointed one of the agents of the Board of Revenue for performing the acts and purposes contemplated by the ordinance."[1] However, the Collector failed to register this regulation in the Court. He also had not received a direct order from the Governor-in-Council or from the Board of Revenue. Finally, "the Collector did not follow the course pointed out by the latter Regulation against persons who committed fraud or embezzlement in matters of Revenue." Regulation VII of 1817 states that "it is the duty of the Government to preserve the Endowments and revenue of Establishments therein enumerated." It then described the procedure to be followed and the persons whose duty it was to enforce the regulation. It was then pointed out to the Company solicitors that,

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[1] Ibid., 29th March, 1823.

> Independent of Regulations and according to the usage and custom of the country the Government for the time being has full authority to superintend and manage the endowments and property of Temples, Pagodas and other places of worship, to appoint and remove officers and to interfere generally in all matters relating to the affairs and concerns of such places of worship. If the Collector of Madras shall rely on the custom he must clearly show that it has existed from time immemorial, that it is a good and laudable custom and that it has been observed in respect of the Tripilcane Pagoda.

After a detailed argumentation the brief concludes that,

> I am unwilling to take or keep any case in which the interest or authority of Government is concerned in the Supreme Court unless I feel a confidence that I can sustain the one and justify the other-- But, in the present instance I feel that the authority of the Government is in some degree incidently drawn into question where in point of fact the parties Dependents had no authority to do the act which has been done and which is complained of and that if the Plaintiff shall succeed many of the natives of Madras who do not very scrupulously examine matters of this description will conclude that the failure of the Collector of Madras to justify what he did in that Character is the failure of the Government and therefore the Government has no lawful authority to interfere with the property and officers of Pagodas and other places of worship. Notwithstanding these my own sentiments, I have drawn Special Pleas of Justification. . . the length and phraseology of the pleading are sufficient to make the perusal or consideration of what I have been compelled to state in a great degree repulsive. . . but to justify the trespass complained of Pleas of this nature and length are absolutely requisite.

This brief was signed by Herbert Compton and John Carruthers, Honourable Company Solicitors.[1]

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[1] Ibid., 29th March, 1823.

After reading the brief from the Company's solicitors the Governor-in-Council ordered that the Government should not be implicated in the suit pending against the Collector. The Advocate-General was ordered to adopt such a line of defense as in his judgement would be most advisable but that the Government had withdrawn from the defense of the suit.[1]

Following this decision the Board of Revenue wrote to the Governor-in-Council and stated that they "presume that all allowances paid to the dharmacartah by the Collector are to be withheld pending the suit." They also inquired as to whether the "collections due to the Tripilcane Pagoda on account of the Ground rent on the Bazaars at Tripilcane which have lately been made by him are to continue to be received by the Collector."[2] Shortly thereafter the Collector, Mr. Murry, informed the Board of Revenue that "the collections from the Shopkeepers at Tripilcane for the Pagoda have been made by the dharmacartah." He then asked "whether he may enforce the payment of them to himself as Collector and prevent the dharmacartah from collecting them. . . ."[3] The Advocate-General advised the Governor-in-Council to specifically authorize the Collector to write the dharmacartah and request him "to produce his accounts."[4]

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1 Ibid., 1st April, 1823.
2 Ibid., 3rd April, 1823.
3 Ibid., 17th April, 1823.
4 Ibid., 24th June, 1823.

The dharmacartah apparently refused to comply with the Collector's orders. Thereupon the Advocate-General wrote to the Governor-in-Council that he considers "the dharmacartah to have virtually refused to obey the orders of Government" and he "considers the present to be the most favourable opportunity to exercise their authority over that office by removing Annaswamy and appointing another dharmacartah."[1] The Governor-in-Council however did not think it wise to follow immediately the advice of the Advocate-General.

The case continued for two years. But the constant threat of possible dismissal under Government authority and the cut off of all allowances and collections from the dharmacartah had its desired effect. The Collector was able to work out an agreement with Annaswamy which he forwarded to the Advocate-General. The Advocate-General responded by indicating some requirements which must be included and to which the dharmacartah must agree before he could be restored as dharmacartah in the eyes of the Government.

1) No arrangement of the disputes which have arisen respecting the Pagoda can take place, so far as the Government is concerned, unless there be an unqualified admission on the part of Annaswamy that he has been appointed dharmacartah of the Pagoda under the authority of the Government, and not in virtue of any hereditary right to that office, and, that he is liable to be removed by the same authority, provided he does not perform the

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[1] Ibid., 14th August, 1823.

duties of the office and render accounts of the property and funds entrusted to his charge according to the usage that has hitherto prevailed, and the Regulations which may be Established by the Board of Revenue under the authority of the Government.

2) Annaswamy should sign a formal instrument to that effect and it should be filed with the Supreme Court.

3) The Company's security which is now in the name and possession of Annaswamy on account of monies belonging to the Pagoda, shall be endorsed or received in such a manner that he may not be enabled to transfer or sell the same, without the permission of the Government or the Board of Revenue.

4) He must give a rendering of his accounts, but those accounts of his ancestors Narrain and Iyah Pillay may be considered to be final and conclusive.

5) Special Regulations should be framed to prescribe and declare the duties of the dharmacartah and the other officers of the Temple Establishment. These Regulations will of course specify the degree of control that is to be exercised by the Collector of Madras over the dharmacartah and other officers of the Pagoda; provide for the security of the property and Funds of the Pagoda; determine when, where, by whom, and how, the Jewels, Paraphenalia, Funds, and other property of the Pagoda shall be preserved or protected and examined; what report shall be made of donations or gifts to the Institution and how, when, to whom, and in what manner periodical accounts of the dharmacartah shall be rendered, examined and adjusted.[1]

It has been necessary to quote at length from the requirements laid down by the Advocate-General because Annaswamy agreed to the conditions and because it demonstrates the extent of Government control over Hindu temples as early as 1825.

Annaswamy requested the inclusion of only one condition,

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[1] Ibid., 16th February, 1825.

namely that he as dharmacartah have the right to appoint and dismiss the servants of the Pagoda. The Advocate-General agreed to this but insisted that his authority would not extend to the Mivasi officers (Trustees) of the Pagoda. Also appointments and dismissals by the dharmacartah would be "subject however to any investigation that may be directed by the Board of Revenue." He went on to declare that the Mivasi, appointed by the Board of Revenue, "hold their situations on a different footing and ought not to be dismissed by the dharmacartah, without authority. . . from the Board of Revnue." The Advocate-General concluded by indicating that Annaswamy was willing to "accede to these terms. . . and the authority of Government will hereafter be sufficiently maintained and vindicated in the event of violation of the Regulations." It was signed by Herbert Compton, Advocate-General.[1] The Government issued orders that the agreement be prepared and executed, and that a new set of detailed regulations be prepared by the Advocate-General.[2] In agreeing to the Government's conditions, Annaswamy admitted the Government to a continuation of decisive control of the management of Hindu temples and pagodas.

That the Government exercised extensive and intimate control over the Hindu religious establishments is clear. Quite obviously the Government acted to maintain and strengthen this

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[1] Ibid., 16th February, 1825.

[2] Ibid., 18th March, 1825.

position. This gave them an advantage in maintaining peace and harmony so essential for good government and commerce. It also placed the Government in the position of being able to exercise influence on the future developments in the Hindu religious processes and programs.

The incident at the Yacaumbaraswara Pagoda typified the Government's involvement in the Hindu religious institutions. The Acting Superintendent of Police wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government as follows: "I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council that reports having reached me of certain religious ceremonies and processions from the Yacaumbaraswara Pagoda which had been suspended for many years were now being revived and likely to lead to serious breach of the Peace with the lefthand Caste. I considered it my duty to suppress the same. In consequence I yesterday directed the church warden to disist from presuming in these religious rites. . . and have now the satisfaction to add that the gates of the pagoda were closed. . ."[1]

In reply the Chief Secretary, Mr. H. Chamier, wrote on behalf of the Government to the Superintendent of Police that,

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 17th March, 1832.

"ceremonies and processions which for many years past had been discontinued have recently been revived at the serious risk of disturbing the Public Peace and Tranquility and the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council cannot but consider if all parties in any way concerned in the revival of these obnoxious ceremonies and processions to be highly culpable and as it appears that Vanentaroya Pillay the head native servant in the Sheriff's office is the dharmacartah of Yacaumbaraswara Pagoda and the person chiefly responsible for the conduct of its affairs. The Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council desires that you will intimate to him that if any attempt is again made to revive these ceremonies or processions at that pagoda he will be immediately dismissed from the service and declared disqualified to serve the Government again in any official situation. You will be pleased to understand distinctly that no innovations of any kind are to be allowed in the performance of native ceremonies without the Sanction of Government."[1]

We note that the Governor-in-Council considered the "ceremonies and processions" to be "obnoxious" and that if revived they would "disturb the Public Peace and Tranquility." The Governor-in-Council was not adverse to using the force of Government to restrict Hindu ceremonies and processions and

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[1] Ibid., 27th March, 1832.

further insisted that the Government would be the only authority which could and would sanction "innovations of any kind to be allowed in the performance of native ceremonies."

An earlier letter from the dharmacartah Vencataroya Pillay gives vital background information regarding this particular incident. The letter was recorded in the official records as from the "Church Warden Vencataroya Pillay of the Yacambaraswara Pagoda (honoring the God Yacambra Ishwara)." The letter states that in "1792 Sir Charles Oakeley as Governor prevented the throwing of saffron water on the dancing girls during the festival of the two pagodas--the right and left hand." In 1795 the left hand repeated the offence and "Lord Hobart. . . had the Town Major and Police Superintendent put the principals of the left hand caste in the main guard. . . he interdicted the festivals of the two temples." The letter concludes with a request to the Government that they be permitted "the continuation of the village festival."[1]

The Superintendent of Police was asked to give a report about the situation at the pagoda and in the village. He replied that, "When a festival is to be celebrated, the church warden of a pagoda makes application at the Police office for a few peons to preserve the peace, which application is always complied with,

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[1] Ibid., 26th March, 1814.

such was the conduct of the church warden in the present instance; but soon after I had promised to assist him with peons, it was privately informed that he was preparing to celebrate a festival which had been suspended for many years on account of disputes, between the Right and Left hand Castes, and that his doing so would tend to a breach of the Peace. I sent him a message that I could not assist him with Police peons in a measure which would disturb the Public Tranquility."[1]

It seems clear that originally Lord Oakeley objected to the ceremony on moral grounds but thereafter it was completely prohibited on the grounds that it would disturb the public "peace and tranquility." At any rate, this was the reason made public; at the same time the Governor-in-Council expressed his opinion that the ceremonies were "obnoxious." It is, however, more important to recognize the fact that the British Government had the final authority and exercised considerable control over the Hindu religious institutions and their programs.

## Government Control over Hindu Religious Programs

Other incidents throw additional light on the ways in which British authorities exerted their influence and control over the non-Christian religions. One method was to expose the

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[1] Ibid., 4th April, 1814.

religious leader to public ridicule if he refused to cooperate with the Government. This particular procedure was disclosed in a complaint written to the Governor-in-Council, S.R. Lushington, by Mr. Condapah Chetty. He, as headman of the Konnady Caste, was responsible to collect the subscriptions from the caste members for the common celebration of the Gramdave festival. (The annual festival of the village god.) He claimed he could not make the collection because he was on a pilgrimage. "The Superintendent of Police then made a public pronouncement through crier of the unworthiness of the writer to be headman stating: 'Notice is hereby given to all the public that Valadvoor Swamy Chetty who was headman. . . having departed this life whose son-in-law Condapah Chetty managing the said headmanship of the caste has refused to pay the subscription fixed for the celebration of the festival of the Goddess, the said Condapah Chetty is not worthy of the headmanship of the Caste.'"[1]

Apparently Condapah Chetty soon recognized the "error of his ways" and on February 28, 1828, the Superintendent of Police, W. Ormsby, wrote that "Condapah Chetty's headmanship was not effected; collections have always been difficult. . ."

Another type of Government control over the non-Christian religions was demonstrated through an incident in the Punjab.

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[1] Ibid., 4th December, 1827.

Two villages in Punjab failed to report to the Government the presence of a religious preacher. The Commissioner, Mr. Temple, reported to the Government that,

> The two villages failed to report a religious preacher Fakeer Hubeeb Shah, who was preaching the imminent arrival of the 'Imam Mahndee' and the destruction of the unfaithful. . . we see a man, probably from the dregs of the population, assuming the garb of religion, a disguise so flimsy as to deceive only the rustic or the vulgar, going about for 12 months (perhaps for years) through one of the most prosperous and contented districts of Punjab, preaching sedition and extorting alm, never hindered or informed against by the people.

The Commissioner concluded his report by stating that the two villages were "heavily fined" for failing to report.[1]

This report does indicate the prejudicial approach toward non-Christian religions on the part of some Government officials. The force of this report can only be understood in contrast to the data contained in the previous Chapter. It was clear that extensive support and freedom was granted to Christian missionaries to preach the Christian religion. This difference in treatment was understandable; the Christian preaching harmonized with Government opinions and plans, whereas the preaching by Fakeer Hubeeb Shah was "seditious" and "vulgar." The "heavy fines" imposed on the villages were not only intended to be morally instructive to the Indian citizens but incidently were good business for the Company.

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 98.

The use of "heavy fines" fit naturally into the style of operations of the British Company. They preferred to use instruments of persuasion rather than obvious methods of coercion. This was but an extension into the area of religion of the legislation "whereby landholders would take responsibility for the prevention and detection of crime and so assist the magistrates and courts. . . if it shall not be proved that the inhabitants of such villages used all the means in their power, both to prevent the commission of the offence and also to detect and to procure the apprehension of the offenders, it shall be lawful for the magistrate to impose a fine upon the inhabitants of such village. . ."[1]

The Government's policy to use persuasion as its primary instrument was demonstrated in an incident when the Muslim feast of Moharrum conflicted with the Christians' Sunday worship. The magistrate, Mr. B. Cunliffe, had stopped the Christian worship because in his opinion it would have proved antagonistic to the Government's policy of "neutrality and non-interference for native religious practices." The Governor-in-Council reprimanded the magistrate for having prevented the celebration of Divine worship. He went on to state that the magistrate did "not appear to have placed himself in direct communication with the Principal

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[1] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. II, pp. 94-96.

Mussulman inhabitants nor to have appealed to their good feelings, and to the desire for mutual accommodation as contempled by the order of Government in the Judicial Department under date of 5th June, 1837."[1]

The incident involving Condapah Chetty noted above provides some additional revealing information. The Superintendent recommended that the "Government sanction the necessary disbursement . . ." and that "the Collector be authorized in communication with this Department to direct the supply of the articles and attendants required for the feast according to the scale hitherto observed."[2] This was sanctioned by the Governor-in-Council.[3]

This incident reveals the procedure by means of which the Government exercised decisive control over the Hindu religious processes and programs. The Government kept in its custody the funds and articles needed for the Hindu religious ceremonies and festivals. It was only if the Government "sanctioned the disbursement" and "supplied the articles and attendants" that the Hindu ceremonies and festivals could proceed at all. This control of the Government was also revealed in a letter of complaint to the Government from Mr. C. Sedambram on behalf of the Gramuttars of Attapallum. He wrote that the "present Superintendent of

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 19th March, 1840.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 28th February, 1828.

[3] Ibid., 11th November, 1828.

Police has refused to authorize the Collector to conduct the annual festival of Grammadananda Yagathummale and to provide the money and articles for the same through the Collector's Hamildas." In response the Chief Secretary, on behalf of the Governor-in-Council, wrote to the Superintendent of Police that, "if it is true, he should immediately take such measures for ensuring the due performance in the usual manner of the Festival in question as may have hitherto been adopted by your predecessors."[1] It must be noted that regardless of the decision on the issue, the proper time for the festival was obviously past.

It is interesting that the celebration of Hindu religious festivals required, as a matter of course, the permission of the Government. A more profound change, however, was the fact that the time of festivals and ceremonies was no longer decided by the Hindu religious calendars and by Hindu priests, instead the schedule of feasts and ceremonies had to await the approval of Government. We observe here that the whole concept of time was wrenched from the realm of the sacred and mysterious and became part of the mundane and practical. This will be examined in more detail later in this Chapter.

It must also be noted that when the Government insisted on its authority over Hindu religious institutions and programs

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[1] Ibid., 29th November, 1831.

they, in fact, undermined the traditional leadership. They established a new pattern of authority and a new style in the operations and management of the temples. This may have had little immediate or obvious effect on the worshippers but what it obviously did was weaken the traditional rigidity of structures and styles. In a sense these changes laid the groundwork which created the possibility for more radical changes in the future; it established structures which made temple establishments more open to change. In changing structures of Hindu religious authority the Government interfered with a most sacred tradition. To a large degree the public strength of the Hindu religion depends upon the people's confidence in the sanctity of the religious authorities as established by the tradition of birth and caste. By creating new structures of control the Government started a chain of changes in Hinduism. The Muslims had tried repeatedly to destroy by force Hindu religious institutions, and failed. The British on the other hand sought not to destroy but to control and to change Hindu religious processes and procedures to fit its own ideas and patterns of operations. The consequence of such an approach was mixed. On the one hand you might not persuade many people to leave Hinduism. But on the other hand you might be successful in transforming Hinduism to fit into a new pattern controlled by Western ideas, beliefs, and style of living.

## The Government's Program of Humanization of Hindu Society

Much has already been written about the efforts of the British Government to remove what they termed "evil religious practices." Widow burning, child marriage, temple prostitution were some of the most widely advertised "evils." There were other practices much more clearly religious in which the Government also felt free to interfere. One such practice was that of "hook-swinging" at the time of the Charrukha festival. Devotees would permit themselves to be suspended from hooks pierced through the flesh of the chest or back and then be driven in parade through the streets of the town. This practice found great disfavor among missionaries. Undoubtedly the reason, in part, was because to Western eyes the practice appeared horribly inhuman. However, it was also possible that, in part, the disfavor of the missionaries was due to the fact that this festival and the practice of hook-swinging was very popular and attracted large crowds. It was true that if hook-swinging could be abolished the festival would lose much of its appeal and its religious significance.

This religious practice of charruck was in the opinion of "Her Majesty's Government. . . opposed to the dictates of humanity." However, since this was a religious act voluntarily undertaken by the devotee the Government hesitated to oppose it by force; "as the pain was voluntarily undergone, it would be

better to discourage such ceremonies by legitimate indirect means than to prohibit them by a direct act of authority."[1] The Government none the less was deeply concerned in converting Hinduism from these practices, "opposed to the dictates of humanity." The Government was "of the opinion that every opportunity should be taken of discountenancing the practice, and they suggest the propriety of insisting, in all leases of Government lands, provision hostile to the celebration of the festival; of enlisting the same direction of sympathies of the leading members of the native community and of quietly making known the disapprobation with which such spectacles were regarded by the Government."[2] The Commissioners of Districts were issued instructions to "induce the people voluntarily to abandon the practice." Where it was not a custom of long standing the Magistrates were authorized "to prohibit its celebration as a local measure of police for the preservation of order and decency."[3]

The Government program was apparently quite successful. After a period of four years--1856 to 1860--they could report that the "practice of charruck-swinging is gradually dying out. . The Zemindars and other native gentlemen, knowing the wishes of Government are disposed to use their influence and example to

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61, 62.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

put a stop to this revolting exhibition."[1]

The religious practise of widow-burning--Suttee--found even less favor with the British Government. In the annual administrative report of 1859-60 the Government reported that "a considerable number of Suttee cases occurred simultaneously in the early part of the year. Severe punishments were awarded in every case, and measures taken to make known the determination of Government to suppress peremptorily this class of offence. In one case the proprietory rights in the village in which the crime occurred was confiscated."[2]

By suppressing those Hindu religious practices which had dramatic life significance and were obviously sensational, the Government did much to alter the public religious expressions of Hinduism and, incidently, also helped reduce the public appeal of Hinduism.

## Introduction of a New Concept of Time

The interests of the Government obviously extended beyond that of stopping a few objectionable religious practices. For this reason the Government interfered with the religious calendar of the non-Christian religions by limited through law the number of annual religious festivals to be observed. This further weakened the public significance of the Hindu religion. The Govern-

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 198.

ment's motive was very practical. The large number of Hindu and Muslim religious festivals interfered with good business. In addition the Government felt bound to observe the traditional Christian religious holidays. Taken together, there were simply too many days of vacation to permit efficiency and good business.

The Government, in 1860, passed Act L which contained provisions for limiting the number of religious holidays. The Commissioner of the North West Provinces reported that "under the provision of Act L of 1860 the Hindu and Mohammedan holidays have been reduced, as a tentative measure, to 18 and 9 respectively."[1] This Act was extended and made more specific by the passage of Act I of 1861. This act "empowered the Sudder Court to fix, at the commencement of each year, the number of holidays to be observed." It was pointed out to the Court of Directors in England that "under the old system the Civil Courts were closed for seventy days in a year, exclusive of Sundays; but under the revised list, now published by the Sudder Court, the number of holidays is reduced to fifty-nine."[2]

There are several observations which must be made. It must be noted that the Government took the authority to set religious holidays. This authority had been, traditionally, held by the Hindu religious leadership. To establish the Hindu

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[1] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. II, p. 84.
[2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 132.

calendar and set the dates of religious festivals had required a sophisticated knowledge and use of religion, tradition, and astrology. In assuming this authority the Government was in effect replacing the Hindu religious leadership in one of its important social functions. Something of the complication that developed when the Government's calendar replaced the traditional calendar can be observed in an incident which follows.[1]

It must also be observed that by including Sunday and major Christian religious holidays in the calendar the Government did, in fact and to a certain degree, compel the observance of Christian religious holidays on all Indians. Undoubtedly it drew public attention to Christianity.

However, the most important fact to be noted was the whole process shifted the focus of attention from the spiritual to the practical. The Government was insisting on time being valued in terms of the practical and material. This was in contrast to the Hindu emphasis that true value exists only in the realm of the spiritual and timeless. The many hundreds of thousands of Indians who were in the service of the military or civil departments of the Company had to accept the Government point of view. In a sense, all who had dealings with the Government, and this included most citizens in the land, had to

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[1] The incident referred to concerned the dispute at Salem and is described on Page 144.

accept the new calendar and the new set of values about time. In insisting on the practical value of time the Government was simultaneously insisting on the positive value of the material world and such human goals as achievement and progress. This whole thrust had a strong impact on the Hindu view of the world. The Hindu 'overview of the world' (weltanshauung) had to adjust to the Western view of things.

As already mentioned, the performance of all festivals required the permission of Government. This permission was not always granted in time to permit the celebration on the appropriate religious day. The significance of the festival was naturally greatly reduced because it could not be held on the auspicious day.

Another approach often used by Government was to interfere with Hindu religious practices and festivals on the premis that they did so to maintain "peace and order." Typical of such Government interference occurred during a religious dispute at Salem. The matter came to light when Mr. C. Rangiah wrote a letter of complaint to the Governor-in-Council. It was signed by thirty-four "inhabitants of Salem. . . belonging to the left-hand caste residing in the Pettah[1] of Salem." In the letter they

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[1] Note that the word Pettah literally means 'village' but could be better translated 'section' here.

told the entire story of the dispute.

> After the commencement of the Honourable Company's authority Cooloonel Read and Mr. W. Lead made enquiry about the maunuum (normal) rules to which the right and left hand castes residing in the Petta had adhered in the performance of the Feasts, marriages and religious Ceremonies and granted permission for both parties to go in procession on the above occasions thro the Four Streets which are in common to all of them, which was done accordingly. When the left hand caste people were going in procession in a Palaquin the right hand caste people opposed it. Three of them /who were principal men/ were in consequence tied to a cart and flogged, from which time to 15th Alpresy of Sevabanoo year or October 1823 there was not any dispute. All the ceremonies on the part of both the Parties were conducted according to mamool (tradition or custom) without molestation but on the month of Partasy or September 1823 certain Comaties (merchant caste) made of flour an Image, gave to it the name of Caneca, placed it in a Palaquin, carried it in procession through the four streets of the Pettah. . . to which we did not offer any objection, on the following, they borrowed from the Pagoda the Vehicle of Lion for the purpose of carrying the Flour image on it in procession thro the streets, but the Traders in Silk who made and gave the said vehicle. . . offered objections. . . We commenced the performance of the feast of Marieamal the Village Goddess, we erected a Pondal (a thatched shelter) for the performance of the ceremony of carrying the Carragum and Poolatar in procession, according to mamool we sent for our relations and made necessary preparations. . . On hearing this the Right hand caste people have resolved to create unnecessary quarrels. . (as a result) an advertisement was published by the beat of Tom Tom in the streets and Lanes for a period of 30 days for the prevention of the said feast, which publication was made on the 27th Alpresy of Sevabanoo year 1823.
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> We presented a Petition to Mr. Collector Cockburn. . . That from the time of assumption of the country by the Honourable Company up to this time, the Processions. . . were conducted in the streets common to all according to the decisions of the former Collectors Mr. Read and Mr. Macleod, and according to mamool and that there was no reason for the publication of an advertisement contrary the decisions and other orders in Diary passed by the

> Magistrates and Judges between the years 1809 to 1818, but he the Collector gave an endorsement that the above Documents and mamool should not be adhered to, but that the advertisement should be in force. . . The Government were pleased to assist the Collector with the authority of the magistrates for the prevention of all disturbances and grievances and for the Protection of the Population.[1]

On those occasions already mentioned in this Chapter, as in this case, the Government prevented the celebration of a festival on the basis that it would endanger peace and order. Here again the British were pushing their Western values of peace and order in preference to the spiritual and social value which the Hindu experienced in the celebration of a festival.

Education as an Instrument for Religious Change

Another effective method used to persuade Hindus to change was revealed in a report from Company Chaplain, Rev. Dr. Mason. He reported that, "whenever a village is willing to support a teacher; forsake its heathen practices, take the temperance pledge, observe the Sabbath, promise obedience to the teachings of the Bible and send their children to school; we furnish them with a teacher if we have one available."[2] The schools and the education provided was, without question, the most effective method used by the Government to change the ideals, desires, and life-styles of the non-Christian people. We shall deal more specifi-

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 12th March, 1824.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 246.

cally with the subject of State and education in the next Chapter; however, it must be noted here that the educational program supported by the Government created profound changes in the non-Christian religions. The records indicate that the Government intended education to change the customs, religion, and life of the Indian people.

The efforts of the Government at changing the Muslims in India through the educational program was no less than that for Hindus. The report of the Government on one school makes this fact very clear.

> The progress of the Madrasa-i-azam has been extremely satisfactory and is very creditable to the Headmaster Mr. Joyes. The attendance has steadily risen to 280. The pupils are all Mohammedans and the success of the school as an English school proves that in the town of Madras the distaste to English education, which was formerly a marked characteristic of the Mohammedan community is rapidly dying out. Every pupil is required to learn Hindustani, English, and one Hindu language. Attendance at the Arabic and Persian classes is optional, and at the close of the year the number of pupils in the Arabic class was only four and in the Persian class 25.[1]

Success was judged on the extent to which education was able to turn students from their traditional mold; it was successful if the students changed entirely and refused to pursue their traditional religion oriented education.

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[1] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, p. 282.

## Some Effects of the Christian Presence

Possibly the most radical change to the non-Christian religions came as a result of the intrusion, in strength, of the physical presence of the Christian religion. The Christian preachers were everywhere; churches and cemeteries dotted the country and Christian schools were thrust upon the people by the force of Government. This was an undeniable physical phenomena; it was an existential truth to which some adjustment had to be made. Probably the most significant result of this Christian phenomena was the fact that Hinduism had to make allowance for it and adjustment to it. Christianity forced on Hinduism the possibility of change; and with it the realization that change could be for the better--it could be progressive.

We cannot ignore the fact that the Government provided church buildings and cemetery properties for the native Christians. The native Christians were largely outcaste or low-caste persons with few traditional rights to property and no rights in the Hindu religion. Now these people were provided with religious institutions which rivaled in size and grandeur the temples of the Hindus. This was a social phenomena that would require the Hindus to make large readjustments or at the very least to give it the most serious consideration and evaluation.

The intrusion of the physical presence of Christianity did something else. The physical properties of the Christian religious institutions were also symbolic of a genuine religious alternative made available to the non-Christian; they were free to make a choice and so they would have to choose. Hinduism believed strongly in the eternal fixed order of all things--Karma; the Christian religion represented a radical alternative. The point at issue was not whether the Hindus or Muslims chose the alternative. Rather, it was the fact that an alternative was concretely present and left open to free choice. The British Government was, as we observed, actively in favor of the Christian religion and by their strong support they placed before the Indian people the first serious free choice of religious alternatives. The fact that the support was provided without destroying the appearance of the autonomy of the Christian religion also helped to make the Christian religion look as a genuine free alternative. In essence, the style of operations which developed and the relationships which were established set the stage for genuine religious freedom in a country where a person's spiritual station was considered fixed. This may prove to be the most significant legacy bequeathed to India by the Colonial Government.

Mention was already made that the establishment of Christian cemeteries had a decided effect on the Hindu population.

This was a public demonstration by the Christians of the value placed on the mortal physical body. This must be understood in contrast to the Hindus depreciation of the physical side of human life. It was understandable that because of their exclusive appreciation of the spiritual, the Hindus were disturbed by and suspicious of the Christian burial of their dead. The local Hindu inhabitants of Madras insisted that the burial of Christian dead near their houses would force them to "abandon their habitations and temples."[1] When the Christians in Tripilcane went to bury a child "the Nabob's people obstructed them and outraged the corpse."[2] In a similar fashion the inhabitants of Poodoopettah complained about the burial of the Christian dead in "the spot next to their residences."[3] The physical presence of Christianity was an undeniable fact and the necessity of some adjustment to the phenomena became unavoidable.

Evidence of the suspicion of the Hindus and difficulty in adjusting to the Christian presence was contained in a letter written to the Government by some "Righthand Hindoos." "Rev. Drew purchased a plot of ground in Salay Street in Black Town. . . we fear he plans to introduce Christians and Pariahs into our midst."[4]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 30th November, 1841.

[2] Ibid., 27th October, 1812.

[3] Ibid., 2nd May, 1843.

[4] Ibid., 31st March, 1834.

The Governor-in-Council responded in Resolution No. 29:

> The purchase of the spot of ground herein referred to appears to have been duly registered in the Collector's office at Madras and it does not appear to the General-in-Council that the appropriation of it to the erection of a school will necessarily interfere with the religious processions of the Hindus. . . If any obstruction be offered to the celebration of any usual Hindoo Festival, the parties conceiving themselves aggrieved will be at liberty to apply to the Superintendent of Police.[1]

In the preceding Chapter mention was made of the widespread presence of the Christian missionary and "native" preachers. They became a permanent feature of the social scene throughout the whole of India. We must note that one of the constant themes of their preaching was directed against the "ignorance and errors" of Hinduism and against the "evil practices." It was to be expected that the leadership in Hinduism would eventually react to such continual criticism. This criticism of the Christian preachers was particularly powerful because of the strong, though indirect, support the preachers received from the Government. In a sense this was an exercise in religious freedom and freedom of speech.

The reactions of the Hindus were basically of three types. Many Hindus remained indifferent to the appeals and criticisms of the Christians. Some Hindus reacted by abandoning Hinduism in favor of Christianity. A third reaction on the part of many Hindus was to seek the reform of Hinduism. These were the ones

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[1] Ibid., 3rd April, 1834.

who defended Hinduism while simultaneously seeking to reform it. A large number of Hindu reform movements had their origin during the 19th Century. The Brahmo Samaj, Prathana Samaj, Samuktha Sevak Sang, and Ramakrishna Mission were a few such agencies. Men like Swami Vivekananda, Ram Mohan Roy, and Parahamsa Ramakrishna were the first of a long line of articulate and outspoken apologists for and reformers of Hinduism.

Changes in Primary Social Structures: Caste

Hinduism was also compelled to examine critically its own social system and customs. In particular, and from the beginning of colonial rule, the caste system was under examination. For no other reason than that it was a social system so completely different from anything known in the West. The British Government brought its own style of living, its policies, and procedures; and these became a permanent and contrasting element of the Indian scene. When the regimental schools were opened for the children of the "native" troops, in a sense Hinduism was forced to examine its own rigid caste system; their own system did not allow education for such children. When the Company needed "native servants and slaves" to assist in their growing trade they hired on the basis of ability and merit, and again the caste system was under criticism. Hinduism however believed it was caste birth that determined a person's work and profession. In essence the question

brought under examination was whether a person's place in society was rigidly and eternally fixed by divine order or whether it could be changed by human will and effort. It must be noted that the record shows the Government did not take any direct action to outlaw caste or to alleviate the effects of its harsher features.

Missionaries were immediately concerned about the system of caste and the distinctions it maintained and the inequities it perpetuated. A series of incidents reveal that when missionaries came to India they found the distinctions of caste had been retained in the churches that had been established under the aegis of the Company. Apparently the chaplains, lay persons, and missionaries in the employ of the Company in the early days had not considered it necessary to eliminate the caste system in the Christian church community.

A group of Christians from Tanjore addressed the Governor-in-Council on this problem of caste which became an issue because of the arrival of a new generation of missionaries.

> Since the establishment of the Mission by the Rev. Father Swartz until recently, a period of nearly 60 years, the distinction of caste as far as regards the rank has never been objected to as incompatible with the unity of the religion we profess, and tho our relatives when we first adopted Christianity in preference to their religion, felt enmity towards us for a time, and spoke reproachfully of us, yet on becoming gradually acquainted with the purity of our motives, paid no more regard upon the difference of our faiths than our Rank in Society or the respectability of our characters. . .

> Unfortunately the recent missionaries have been attempting to abolish the privileges and endeavored to introduce rules contrary to our Hindoo law and customs in order to compel us to admit into our society the lowest Pariahs, and to treat them in every respect as we would our equals in rank. . . (These people had refused to let a Pariah catechist bury one of their dead. The missionaries in turn refused to let the funeral service take place under the charge of a caste catechist.) We the undersigned were on the 12th instant placed in confinement. . . under His Highness the Maharajah by order of the Resident at the request or misrepresentation of the missionaries.

This letter was signed by David Pillay, M. John Pillay, P. Dewasagayam Pillay, A. Christian Pillay, D. Arrilanendem Pillay, Sevaresnootoo Pillay, and Pakynada Pillay.[1]

It is of interest to note that the British Resident gave support to the missionaries in their efforts to abolish caste in the church. The incident also discloses the intensity of feeling that existed with respect to caste loyalty and caste distinctions. The issue was stated more forcefully in another letter to the Government: "The Rev. Missionaries have a cloak for all these unmerciful acts and unbecoming behaviour towards us. . . calculated to force us to civil death. For a Soodra who eats, drinks, or is connected familiarily with a Pariah is to be accounted in this country as outcaste and shall never be readmitted to association with his relatives and when we refuse to submit to it, we are accounted as bad Christians."[2]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 17th February, 1834.

[2] Ibid., 7th February, 1834.

"Native Tamil Protestants" from Vepery wrote a letter on this same issue to the Government.

> The early missionaries preached a simple Gospel, called for Baptism, against idolatry and fornication. . . they never wished to bind them in subjection to any other strange orders and commands such as changing. . . innocent ceremonies which are not idolatrous or Heathenish and to their observance in regard of their eating, drinking, and dressing, and they never imposed on them to break the Distinctions kept by the badges of noble birth after having found the same by good experience and long acquaintance so the convertants may not unnecessarily and uselessly be out caste by the society. . . But since these few years the missionaries that came from Europe began to impose and intrude on the Hindu Christian congregation. . . to give out and break out the innocent ceremonies and distinctions of civil order. . . he (the missionary, Rev. Jrian) caused the Parias contrary to the rule to fill forcibly and to have seat with your Lordships petitioners, on which we Tamil convertants were all obliged to come from the church. . . he threatens to excommunicate. . . about more than 700 and odd Tamil Christian individuals from the very Church.

This was signed T.W. Gooroopada Pilly, Teacher, Manuel Maroodos Pilly, Tamil Teacher, Joseph Pilly, Christian Pilly, Moorthoo Chetty, Senda Pilly, Catechist of the late Venerable Rev. Swartz.[1]

Apparently missionaries began their crusade against caste in the existing caste structures in the church. Whether right or wrong, the missionaries felt justified from the basis of this experience to make the abolition of caste a major issue. They were prepared to maintain this position even if it meant that the caste Christians renounced Christianity.

These incidents reveal several interesting features. The

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[1] Ibid., 7th March, 1834.

sizable number of caste converts to Christianity was remarkable. This in itself had a profound effect on Hindu society as noted by the writers of these letters. The fact that the caste converts characterized themselves as "Hindu Christians" is noteworthy. The combination of these two words bespeaks of unusual change. Most important, however, was the fact that the issue of caste was brought to the attention of the public. It could not be ignored thereafter for it involved the Government, Society, Hinduism, and the Christian religious institutions. For good or ill it was not a public matter and would remain in the public eye for criticism and judgment. We cannot ignore the fact that the religious legitimations for the caste system were profound indeed. In seeking to change any part of the caste system the missionaries, with Government support, were not only criticizing the social system but were casting doubt on the Hindu religious structures and beliefs.

The concern of missionaries, in general, became broader with time and included the discrimination that was directed against the outcastes resulting in their condition of extreme destitution. From the beginning missionaries appealed to the Government to help remove caste distinctions. Typical was the Bishop's letter to the Governor-in-Council in which he included a complaint from the "native Christians" of Vallavaram. The complaint was that they "are prohibited from using the water

in the reservoir from the circumstances of our being designated Pariars, in consequence of which the absurd customs of caste is rigidly enforced on us."[1] The Governor-in-Council resolved to send this letter to the Court of Directors and a member of the Council, Mr. Chamier, added his comment that the Court of Directors should know "what measures are resorted to in the hope of enlisting the Government in that great object of missionary anxiety and pursuit--the abolition of caste."[2] In another case the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Right Rev. Carew forwarded to the Government a letter from "some native Christians from Cuddapah." They complained that a group of Reddys of their villages prevented "the service castes--barbers, washermen, potters--from serving them because of our being Christian contrary to their sect." In this case the local British official "ordered the village servants to serve them."[3] This was an occasion in which the traditional caste discipline was obstructed. "Peace and tranquility" we observed was listed most frequently as justification for the Government to interfere in social customs, religious practices, in caste disputes and to obstruct traditional caste discipline. The caste dispute at Salem, cited earlier in this Chapter,[4] was one such instance.

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 15th November, 1844.

[2] Ibid., 15th November, 1844.

[3] Ibid., 3rd May, 1841.

[4] See pp. 143, 144.

## Changes in Primary Social Structures: Marriage

Another significant departure from traditional Indian social customs occurred when the Government became involved in changing the pattern of marriage. Marriages in India were very much a social community event. The propriety of a marriage and its maintenance was a community concern. However, when Indians became converts to Christianity it was natural that the Christian clergy would perform marriages in the Western manner known to them. In this Western style of marriage it was more important that the marriage be legally recognized than that it be socially and communally approved. Under such a system it became important that a marriage have the legal certification of the State. In essence this meant a slow wearing down of the role of the smaller community units in establishing and maintaining marriages and the sanctions governing marriages.

This whole matter came to an issue when the native Christians and the clergy demanded legal recognition from the Government for their marriages. The Supreme Government of India passed the major India Marriage Act in 1864. This Act XXV included a special section, Part II, covering marriages between native Christians. However, a question arose as to whether "catechumens" should be married according to the Hindu or Christian sections of the Marriage Act. The missionaries of Tinnevelly asked for the opinion of the Government. The Advocate-General, J.B. Norton,

issued the official Government reply on the 15th of September, 1864:

> 1) I have detained this reference some time, as from the importance of the question I was anxious to obtain the best information I could as to 'Catechumens,' a point on which the letter of the Tinnevelly Missionaries appeared to me somewhat defective and ambiguous. I accordingly required from the Reverend Mr. Pope, a gentleman (missionary) long intimately acquainted with the state of Native Christians and converts in Tinnevelly.
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> 2) I have considered the question from every point of view that has occurred to me, and I came to the conclusion that the 'Catechumens' are 'persons professing the Christian religion' under Act XXV of 1864; and that marriages between them solemnized under Part II of the Act will be legal and binding.[1]

It must again be noted that the influence of missionaries on the Government was indeed considerable and it was frequently exercised in those areas which would eventually have considerable influence in changing future social structures. The point to be noted is that the Government became involved in changing the Indian social customs of marriage because of the influence of Christianity and in particular because of the demands of the "native Christians." The Government's involvement in marriage was later extended to all citizens of India.

Changes in Primary Social Structures: Inheritance Customs

Another important area of change concerned the inheritance customs. In the first instance British officials were

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[1] Ibid., 21st September, 1864.

concerned that the Indian Christians adopt the Western system of inheritance by direct descent. The Government instituted a rule that, "Landshare being registered in the names of Christian converts. . . will henceforth go by direct descent instead of to sister's sons." Attached to this report was the information that "an important movement is going on towards the promulgation of a law empowering families who chose to adopt direct descent in preference to descent to sisters' sons to make amicable arrangement to this effect."[1] The effect of this action of Government was to initiate rules governing inheritance, because of native Christians, which had profound long range effects upon changing the social customs of India.

The Hindu custom about inheritance was another social institution with religious significance. The British authorities changed the traditional laws of inheritance to fit into their own pattern--the pattern of English civil law. This change of inheritance rules resulted in profoundly effecting related matters such as family structures and caste rules, and it certainly under-cut the traditional Hindu religious legitimations.

The matter was explained in a Government report to

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India During the Year 1860-61, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 274.

the Court of Directors in England.

> Several cases of succession have already occurred. In one. . . the Talookdar died intestate and without progeny. It was found that it was the rule of the family that in such a case the estate went to the widow, who could adopt any member of the clan, with the consent of the brotherhood. The Chief Commissioner, however, ruled that the law of primogeniture must, under the Governor General's instruction, be enforced, that by the law the succession of a female could not be recognized; and that consequently the estate must descend to the next male heir, who, in the case in point, was the father of the deceased. During 1860-61 final orders were issued by the Government of India fixing the above procedure.[1]

It must be noted that in some cases Hindu law permitted women to inherit and in this sense could be said to be more progressive than the English law of that day. Regardless, the British changed the system to make it fit their own policies and pattern. Obviously this new law affected family relationships and structures. However, more important, this was another concrete event to which society had to adjust; it had to change. Hinduism had to accept the fact that ancient tradition can change; they had to accept the possibility that other elements of the eternal fixed order could also be changed.

## Summary

A summarization of the many details of this Chatper cannot be avoided. One overall conclusion seems clear. The

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[1] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 212.

British Colonial Government in India by its actions and decisions revealed that it felt it could not work or cooperate with Hindu or Muslim religious institutions. Obviously the Government was convinced that its policies concerning the Indian public were contrary to the Hindu religious programs and procedures as these related to the Indian public.

Our data revealed the fact that the Government developed a style of operations which on the one hand avoided as far as possible the use of force and direct action to change the beliefs, practices, and institutions of the non-Christian religions present in India. During this period a primary purpose of Government was to maintain peace and "tranquility" in order to foster trade and profits. On the other hand, however, deliberate decisions and actions were taken by the Government which changed the structures, practices, and even effected the beliefs of the Indian religions, particularly Hinduism. Government actions and decisions aimed at controlling and influencing Hinduism. In taking these decisions the Government revealed its awareness that a government must take some responsibility in the moral and religious life of its citizens.

The Government, in order to gain some control over the Indian religions, assumed administrative control of the religious institutions such as the temples. In doing so they weakened, to

a large degree, the traditional priestly control over the public. This in turn helped when the Government interfered directly in abolishing certain socio-religious customs which they considered "social evils"--widow-burning (suttee), hook-swinging (charruck), temple prostitution, and so forth. Obviously this was restriction of religious liberty. The Government apparently had concluded that freedom in religion can exist only to the degree in which the practices and beliefs of any religion harmonize with the policies and programs of the Government. It must be remembered that Government support made it possible for the Christian religion to penetrate India's culture and society and become a permanent phenomena. For the first time this created a genuine alternate choice, without the obvious use of force, to the entrenched Hindu religion with its rigid social structures. This also raised the possibility that man could change--a sharp contrast to Hindu concept of man's fixed social role governed by karma, and the Islamic notion of divinely determined social duties under the absolute control of kismet.

We found that the Government insisted that some of the institutionalized processes and programs of the non-Christian religions change to conform with Government policies and ideals. This was fundamentally a structural change but the faith and

philosophy of these religions had to adjust to allow for these structural changes. The Hindu and Islamic spiritual and religious ideas and beliefs had to accommodate to the reality of the changed phenomena. In this sense the structural changes profoundly effected and changed these Indian religions--Hinduism in particular.

The Government style of operations included the active support of the Christian religion and its institutions, and created thereby a public agency which gave voluntary support to the Government's policies and programs. It did this through the energetic use of preaching and education to encourage, persuade, and teach the devotees of the non-Christian religions to change. The presence and success of Christianity forced the non-Christian religions into serious self-examination and the beginnings of reform.

We must also take serious account of the fact that the Islamic religion had to completely alter its posture in British India. It had for centuries been the religion favored by India's rulers and its institutionalized processes occupied a privileged position. Under British rule in India the Islamic religion had to accept the position of being the religion of a minority and its institutionalized processes, no longer privileged, had to adjust to the policies and programs of a Government that favored a different religion--Christianity.

We noted that education was a primary means for the introduction of Western philosophy and science as well as the Christian religion. Not only did it introduce ideas novel to Hinduism but by being made available to anyone it compelled Hindus to change their notion that formal education was the exclusive perogative of a few castes. This whole area will be examined more fully in the next Chapter.

In brief it can be said that the non-Christian religions were compelled to enter into the experience of change and reform to accommodate themselves to the policies and programs of the Westernized and Christian oriented Government. Having entered into this experience it was not possible to set a time limit or to predict the extent of change and reform. Each concrete phenomena of change in the beliefs and practices of religion and society set in motion a series of consequent changes.

# CHAPTER IV

## STATE, RELIGIONS, AND EDUCATION

For purposes of our study the word 'education' is understood to mean primarily those institutions in society established to transmit, in a more formal manner, and from generation to generation, those ideas, skills, and artifacts valued by society, thereby to maintain and perpetuate that society. If we understand the State or Government to be that institution of society responsible to protect, maintain and perpetuate a given society, then we can conclude that, in one sense, any Government is the product of the educational institutions of its society.

From our point of view we have abandoned (at least for the period of history under study) the idealistic notion that education is the pursuit of pure knowledge. Educational institutions exist to transmit those ideas and products considered integral and important to a society; the State exists in a sense to see that the educational process continues unhindered and thereby society is maintained and perpetuated.

What happens when a Government, for whatever the reason, does not subscribe to the ideas nor appreciate the products of

the society it governs? Quite simply, the Government can substitute its own ideas and products, to replace the old ones, and have these transmitted through the educational institutions. Or it can go further and replace the traditional educational institutions and establish its own new educational institutions. This latter course is much more radical since it not only seeks to transmit new ideas and products but introduces a new social structural phenomena--new educational institutions. Society must accommodate to the new institutional phenomena as well as to new ideas and new products.

In this Chapter we will observe that the British Government in India adopted the radical approach. They insisted that the material transmitted through the educational system conform to the Government's own policies and ideas; and these were new. They also established a new educational system and in general ignored the traditional educational institutions present in India.

## Government Education Policies

When the East India Company entered India the existing educational institutions were related to either Hinduism or Islam and were oriented primarily toward religious teachings. When the Company expanded and needed to employ Indian personnel they had to provide for them an educational program dealing predominantly

with commerce, economics, and law. This education was largely the responsibility of the Military Department to begin with. Regimental schools were established at most of the military stations. In time the children of "natives" were admitted to these schools. Eventually some colleges were established and a "Board of the College" was created with broader responsibility for general policy in education.

The whole matter of education became a major issue only in the early 19th Century after the Company had expanded considerably and needed to employ a large number of "natives"; and after the Company began to function seriously as a Government in India. As Government it assumed the responsibility to protect and maintain society; education for and in society was an integral part of its responsibility; and the type of education was important since its own continuation as Government was ultimately the real issue.

The Government was not ignorant of the Indian traditional educational institutions. In fact, it was the opinion of the Government that they had made a careful evaluation of the indigenous system before judging it as an "inefficient system."

The Secretary of the "Board of the College and for Public Instruction" submitted in February of 1827 the first major report about the educational policy on the subject of "public instruction."

> It will be remarked that, in strict adherence to the first principle of the institution, to facilitate education, the Board have adopted a mode B of conveying instruction in the different vernacular languages, from which they confidently anticipate a most favorable result. In deliberating on measures for the attainment of the objects of the institution, it naturally occurred, as a necessary preliminary, to look minutely into the system of instruction which had hitherto been pursued by the people themselves, to consider whether at any period, under the most favorable circumstances, it had ever been efficient to its purposes, and whether the Board could, by adopting and supporting it, reasonably expect that it would tend to promote the views of Government. (However) the Board were of the opinion that, in strict adherence to the principle of facilitating education and eventual improvement, it was desirable that the system they were to pursue, should be their own throughout; that the stages should be consecutive. . . (there was) the general and unfeigned regret of the people themselves, that they had not a more efficient system (and the new system) has met with universal approbation among the native population;. . . In this review of the new system for the general improvement of education, which the Board respectfully submit to the Honourable the Governor-in-Council, they have the satisfaction to anticipate, that one of the earliest results will combine a generally beneficient effect to the subjects of this Government, with a tendency to the benefit of the Public Service.[1]

The Governor-in-Council replied to the Board and gave general approval of their new system because it was "directed to more useful purposes than the former system, which too much aimed at the acquirement of what was rare and obsolete instead of such learning as could be of advantage in the common purposes of life. . ." and then he added that "the Governor-in-Council is

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 16th February, 1827.

impressed with the importance of communicating instruction in Europeans works to the natives. . ."[1]

The new system of education was designed to: 1) "promote the views of Government," 2) "benefit the Public Service," 3) have a "beneficent effect to the subjects of this Government," and, 4) "facilitate education and eventual improvement." From the extract we can understand that to "improve" education meant to include Western sciences and philosophy and to exclude "knowledge of the high language," that is, Hindu philosophy, and the "poets of his country," that is, Hindu religious writing.

It was quite clearly the purpose of the Government to use the new system of education to bring about a change in the ideas, values, and morals of Indian people which would accommodate to the Western, Christian oriented views of the Government. And not just incidently, they were also interested in giving education to people which would prepare them for "Public Service" with the Government.

In 1832 the Court of Directors in England asked the Indian Government for a report on the "state of education." The Board of Public Instruction made the report to the Government and the Court of Directors. The report was lengthy and must therefore be summarized.

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[1] Ibid.

The report was made "in response to the Court of Directors' inquiry into the state of education and the need to extend the central school and introduce a more general education of the native population in the higher branches of European Literature and Science."

The report observed that a primary difficulty was "the general ignorance of the Teachers themselves and the poverty of the people." To eleviate these difficulties the report suggested "the endowment of the schools throughout the country," and the "institution of a Seminary for the instruction of persons who were hereafter to become teachers." The report suggested that these "preliminary and necessary measures be sanctioned at the expense of the Government."

The report also suggested that a "Principal school be established in each Collectorate," and a school be "operated in each Tasildary."

The Board reported that it had appointed a Committee of Public Instruction "to look minutely into the system of instruction which had hitherto been pursued by the people themselves and whether by adopting it the Board could reasonably expect that it would tend to promote the views of Government. . . it was in many points severely defective." The Board therefore decided to adopt a system "more consecutive in stages,

and as it appeared to them more favourable to the attainment of knowledge."

The Board members observed that the Collectors and Judges took "little interest in education." To remedy this the report recommended that the "presence of a European officer of Government in the schools apparently taking an interest in the progress of the scholars, would give a stimulus to their exertions which they do not now know." It was also recommended that "a half yearly report should be required."

One of the suggestions offered in the report was that "occasionally the best informed persons educated in Tahsildary schools could be selected to hold situations of trust and responsibility under the Government. . . since one of the principal objects contemplated by the Court of Directors in providing schools for the better education of the natives was that servants might be raised up and then qualified to hold such situations." This would have "the best effect in encouraging scholars."

In order to promote the cause of education it was recommended that the dispatch on education in India from the "Honourable Court of Directors be forwarded to Collectors and Judges in the several provinces." Apparently "Collectors and Judges" still considered commerce and revenue collections their primary responsibility. The Board considered it important that these principal

local Government officials take responsibility for promoting Government sponsored education.

The Board also reported that it "does not anticipate opposition from the prejudices of caste" in regard to the introduction of higher education in the higher branches of Europeans Science and Literature. The "great difficulties are in the apathy and inertness of native character."

An interesting observation and evaluation was included in the report. It was that, "the study of the Vedas and Puranas as well as mythological pursuits generally have now, it is true, been abandoned for the acquirement of a knowledge of the English language, but chiefly because the latter holds out the encouragement of a livelihood. . . Enquiry has shown that in almost every instance the attaining for some favoured individual the monthly salary sanctioned by the Government to the teacher of such schools (has been the cause of petitions for the establishment of Tahsildary schools) and not a desire for the improvement of their children. . . The attraction of the central school in the eyes of the natives is its novelty and endowment. . . A knowledge of English is what every native of whatever caste or persuasion is now desirous for his son."

The report concludes with the comment that "English

classes are well attended but others poorly."[1]

From this report it seems clear that the Government made progress in establishing its own style of educational system with subject material acceptable to the views of the Government. The opinion of the Board about the indigenous educational system concurs with that of the earlier report that it was "severely defective" in many points. The report reveals that smong the Indian people there was a strong and growing interest in learning the English language. The motives for learning English and Western sciences may have been entirely mercenary as reported. But that was not as significant as the fact that new ideas and products from the Western world penetrated Hindu society. In turn these ideas and products from the West created new goals and values for society.

Information from these reports described in broad outline the content of education in the system under the British Government. It would emphasize sciences, English, and morals. In this case "morals" meant Christian ethics. Evidence from the reports indicated that by 1833 English was already widely appreciated and accepted by Indians.

Historians have given much credit for the introduction of English and science education to the influence of Alexander

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[1] Ibid., 15th November, 1832.

Duff, a missionary in India, who believed in the importance of higher education in English. Others regard the famous minute of T.B. Macaulay of 1835 as decisively influencing the Government to introduce Western education in the English medium.[1] Our evidence shows that the minute of Macaulay was, more accurately, a critically important written statement of what was already the general practise in India. The success of Alexander Duff in the establishment of an English medium school can more likely be attributed to the fact that Indians had widely accepted the idea of the new education in the English language. Another missionary, William Carey, had earlier concluded that it was important for Indians to receive education in "Western sciences and Christian piety."[2] This was incorporated as an objective into the Charter of Serampore University which Carey founded; a Charter that was granted by the King of Denmark.

The interest of the Government in their own system of education continued and intensified after the 1857 mutiny. It was nicely summarized by the report of the of the Lieutenant-Governor. He reported to the Court of Directors that, "with the attention of the inspectors concentrated on the development

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[1] Bishop Stephen Neill, op. cit., p. 274.

[2] Charter of Serampore University, 1818, (Calcutta, Baptist Missionary Press, 1957).

of the higher class of schools, on the dissemination of European learning, on the training of vernacular schoolmasters, and on the provision of suitable books;. . . the Lieutenant-Governor hopes that the diffusion both of Western Science and vernacular rudimental instruction may be permanently promoted."[1]

## New Curriculum for Education

Government records also disclosed the details of the subjects taught in the schools. These reveal what British authorities considered important for Indian Society. These subjects can be contrasted to the subjects of education that had been the pattern of traditional Hindu and Islamic education. A report from the Board of Public Instruction included an extract which summarized and compared the subject matter in the "old" and "new" education "systems."

> The old form was basically concerned with the Tamil language and grammar, some moral phrases in meter, numbers and measures, etc., and mathematics. The new system kept much of the old but condensed the grammar and language, enlarged moral reading lessons, added History and translations from Orms, Damse, and Wilks, and such as relate immediately to this part of India. . (they also taught) forms of Promisory notes, bonds, deeds, etc., etc. . . (The new system) does not, however hold out any means by which the student can acquire a knowledge of the high language, or by which he can become familiarly conversant with the poets of his country.[2]

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 103.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 16th February, 1827.

The British discovered that the Indian educational system was concerned with teaching students the language of the local area, Hindu religious writings, and mathematics. In another report it mentioned that the old system was primarily the study of the "Vedas and Puranas as well as mythological pursuits. . ."[1] "Mythological pursuits" probably meant Hindu philosophy and perhaps astrology. Regarding traditional education among Muslims, a report was given that "the amount of useful secular instructions afforded was extremely small, the main work. . . being the teaching of Arabic, Persian and the doctrines of the Mohammedan religion. . ."[2]

The new system of education in general covered the following subjects: 1) the local language (but with a greatly decreased emphasis); 2) mathematics; 3) enlarged moral readings (which meant the inclusion of Christian ethics); 4) Western philosophy; 5) history; 6) English, and, 7) commerce and accounting. Another report listed the books used in Collectorate and Tahsildary schools. These included a book on "Ancient History with a summary of the History of Hindustan, Murrys Exercises, Joyces' Scientific Dialogues (6 volumes), Esop's Fables, Introduction to Geography,and a set of English Alphabets."[3]

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[1] Ibid., 8th February, 1833.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 31.

[3] Consultations of Government, Public Department, 6th September, 1833.

Other incidents throw further light on the actual content of the Government scheme of education.

A quarrel between Catholic and Protestant Chaplains lasting over many years had to do with the subject matter taught in Regimental and Artillary schools over which the Ecclesiastical Department was responsible. The Roman Catholic Bishop complained to the Government that in Regimental and Artillary schools "children are compelled to learn the Protestant Catechism, use the Protestant Prayer Book, Bible and Moral Books."[1]

A Government report to the Court of Directors contained the information that "copies of the Holy Scriptures in English, the vernacular and in Romanized Oordoo have been placed in the libraries of all Government schools."[2]

With respect to Regimental and Artillary schools the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency issued general orders that, "students wishing to attend the Normal School to become regimental school masters are tested at entrance on the Scriptures--Pentateuch, Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles and that students must take Scripture as the first subject in each of both years."[3]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 4th January, 1841.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1860-61, Vol. II, p. 155.

[3] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 374.

The evidence of the Government records does indicate the strong Christian religious emphasis considered necessary for the education of India's people. It does provide an insight into what was meant when the Western Colonial man talked about "his burden"--the burden to civilize and educate the rest of the world. The records show that the British Indian Government officials did not separate, in their own mind, the Christian religion from the programs of "civilizing" and "educating" India.

## Mission Societies and the Education Programs

In addition to the strong Christian religious emphasis in Government schools we must remember that Christian public schools operated by Mission Societies were a prominent part of the new educational system in India at a very early date. Mention was made in Chapters II and III of the schools started and operated by Mission Societies. We must now examine this subject in more detail. The Mission schools were unique in that they provided an education that was highly--almost exclusively--Christian oriented. Since these were the earliest schools for the public it is very significant to note what they taught and who attended. The involvement of Mission Societies and the Government in the schools and the proposed purpose for the schools is revealed in a letter from Rev. Henry Taylor. Rev. Henry Taylor, Company Chaplain at Bellary, sent a request to the Government for the

construction of another school in association with the Church. This was to be in addition to the existing regimental school. He mentioned that the "natives desire to bring up their children in those moral and religious principles which the Church of England maintains and inculcates. . . the school should be considered in the light of the Government school open to Europeans, Indo-British and native children. . . The natives themselves have come to me requesting me to educate their children, some anxious for them to read the Bible, others requesting merely to be instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic without reading our Scriptures. I have admitted the latter class of boys from the feeling. . . I at all events go some way to prepare them for the reception of such a belief."[1] It must be noted that for Rev. Taylor it was important when writing this request to the Government, to emphasize the fact that, regardless of the feelings of the Hindu parents, he tried, "at all events to go some way to prepare them (the children) for the reception of such a belief." That is, to get them to change from their traditional religion of Hinduism. In a similar view, it was mentioned in a Government report that, "It is evidently of great importance that young Zemindars[2] should be so brought up as to fit them to take a proper

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 7th March, 1843.

[2] Note that the "young Zemindars" were the children of Zemindars. These were owners of large land tracts under Government sanction. They were also responsible for land revenue collection for their area.

position among their countrymen, and to cooperate with the authorities in diffusing general enlightenment. . . The course of education with reference to each, (should be) most conducive to the moral and mental development of the individual."[1] In a report to the authorities in England the Government of India told of progress in the education of "natives" and then concluded the report with the statement that, "It is hoped that the liberal support of the institutions, which during the past year have been put on firm foundations, will not be denied by a Government, the safety as well as the duty of which consists in the dissipation of ignorance and error."[2]

In an earlier report the Governor-in-Council in commenting on the new system of education to be introduced by the British authorities remarked that, "It is directed to more useful purposes than the former system which too much aimed at the acquirement of what was rare and obsolete instead of such learning as could be of advantage in the common purposes of life. . . The Governor-in-Council is impressed with the importance of communicating instruction in European works to the natives. . ."[3]

The Government justified the whole range of such interference on the grounds that they were helping remove "ignorance

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 37.

[2] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, p. 155.

[3] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 16th February, 1827.

and superstition" and were helping to eliminate many "evil practices." These were efforts at humanization; but whatever the motivation, the fact was that a large degree of change was created. From one point of view it can be said that as the Company assumed the role of Government it unconsciously accepted the fact that the chief commodity with which they must deal were humans. If they as a Company were to govern, their concern for the welfare of humans must become publicly cognizable. That the Government was able to convince the people that theirs were humanizing efforts and not anti-religious acts speaks well for the effectiveness of the methods and agencies used by the Government.

In 1860 the report of the Ecclesiastical Department listed 703 schools in the Madras Presidency supported by just two Mission Societies--The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Church Missionary Society. Of these 703 schools, 307 received Government "grants-in-aid" and were inspected by the office of the Director of Public Instruction of the Government. These two Societies reported a total of 17,840 students. In that same year the Government reported a total of 23,965 students in all inspected schools, which would include the 307 belonging to these two Societies.

Professor Pathak writing only about American Mission Societies stated that towards the end of the 19th Century American

Protestant Mission stations, each with its school, were spread over all of India. "The phenomenal increase in the number of conversions entailed additional burdens on the part of missionaries, which resulted in an unprecedented increase in educational, medical, and welfare activities of Protestant mission."[1]

On 1854 the Government had decided to give grants-in-aid to any school willing to accept Government inspection. The grant included building costs, maintenance, and teachers' salaries.[2] This aid was of immense help to Mission Societies in the expansion of their educational program. The benefit to the Government was no less remarkable. Through the program of "grants-in-aid" the Government obtained a large system of schools and the voluntary help of a large number of professional managers--the missionaries. The Government also secured an educational program basically compatible with its own ideals and policies. However, we must note that the difference in Mission schools was the stronger emphasis on the Christian religion and way of life. This difference was made clear by the Archdeacon, who had direct responsibility for the supervision of all schools, when he wrote that he "had resolutely refused, from the day of (his) arrival in the country, a quarter of a century ago, to have any concern whatever with places of education in which the Holy Scriptures are not received

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[1] S.M. Pathak, op. cit., p. 134

[2] Bishop Stephen Neill, op. cit., p. 357.

and honoured."[1] In a similar vein of thought, a missionary, the Rev. Dr. Mason, wrote that, "Whenever a village is willing to support a teacher; forsake its heathen practices; take the temperance pledge; observe the Sabbath; promise obedience to the teachings of the Bible; and send their children to school, we furnish them with a teacher if we have one available."[2]

Even before the scheme of "grants-in-aid" was introduced the Government had been giving assistance to the educational program carried on by missionaries. We have already included some records which indicated the help Government gave to build schools and to grant allowances to Mission Catechists to teach native children. One additional incident can profitably be included. It was a letter from the Collector of Madura which disclosed an unusual arrangement involving a Mission Society, the Government, and a Hindu religious institution. The Principal Collector of Madura wrote to the Governor-in-Council regarding the "Protestant Christians of Madura." He stated that "a Catechist had been sent from the Tanjore Mission who gave 3 pagodas per mensem. This was insufficient so the late Principal Collector gave in addition 5 Pagodas per mensem from the Ramnad Devastanam funds on the condition that the

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 4th August, 1846.

[2] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 246.

Catechist should keep a school to instruct natives. At Mr. Peter's death (the Catechist) this was discontinued." The Collector recommended that "a new Catechist be given 4 Pagodas per mensem from Public funds."[1] The Governor-in-Council acted favorably and "granted Rs. 14/ per mensem for the Catechist to superintend the Protestant Church of Madura."[2]

This evidence includes the unusual fact that the Collector used funds from the Ramnad Devastanam. These obviously were Hindu temple funds held in the cutchery (Treasury) of the Collectorate. These funds were utilized to pay for a Mission Catechist. This arrangement was justified on the basis that the Catechist supervised a school "to instruct natives." The incident also makes clear the Government's control over Hindu temples and their funds. It also shows the Government's involvement in the appointment of Mission personnel to the payroll of the Government.

A few years after the plan for "grants-in-aid" was introduced, the Director of Public Instruction reported to the Government that "the exertions made by missionaries to bring within the reach of the natives the means of acquiring sound secular knowledge are deserving of recognition by, and of the hearty

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 9th September, 1828.

[2] Ibid., 5th June, 1829.
Note that we can conclude from this evidence that a Pagoda was worth approximately Company rupees 3.8.0.

assistance of the Government."[1] Later in the report he added that, "it is hoped that the liberal support of the institutions, which during the past year have been put on firm foundation, will not be denied by a Government, the safety as well as the duty of which consists in the dissipation of ignorance and error."[2]

## Reform of the Traditional Educational Institutions

Evidence seems indisputable that the Government was engaged in an extensive program of education aimed at changing the thinking and living of its Indian citizens; the Government proposed to help them become "civilized" and "free of ignorance" and "evil practices." The educational institutions of the Christian Religion were made an integral part of this program through the "grants-in-aid" scheme.

As part of its educational program the Government started a program with the distinct purpose of changing the structure and curriculum of those traditional educational institutions associated with either Hinduism or Islam. The purpose was to restructure these institutions and to integrate them into the new educational system. One such institution was Sanscrit College in Poona. About this school it was reported that, "Dr. Hang of Bonn, the

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1860-61, Vol. II, p. 109.

[2] Ibid., p. 155.

well-known orientalist, arrived on November, 1859, to take charge of the Sanscrit teaching. The best results have followed his teaching. It was of all things the most needed for the Brahmins of this College, steeped as they are, from their birth, in an indolent dislike for European thought."[1] Later it was reported that, "this college was affiliated in August last. . . to enable students to persecute the university courses. . ."[2] At the advice of the Director of Public Instruction "the Sanscrit College at Calcutta was reorganized into a school and college department." He also proposed "several prospective changes in the course of instruction, of a fundamental nature. . ."[3]

The Muslim institutions underwent similar reorganization. The Madrissa-i-Azam in the Carnatic was judged by the Government to have an "extremely small amount of useful secular instruction." Therefore, "at last it was decided that the institution should be reorganized, and that the course of instruction should be made to correspond to that laid down for zillah (district or Collectorate) schools."[4]

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[1] Ibid., 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 261.
[2] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, p. 154.
[3] Ibid., 1859-60, Vol. Vol. I, p. 28.
[4] Ibid., Vol.II, p. 31.

Regarding the Madrissa in Calcutta it was reported that,

> The Mohammedans used to be found to be backward, as compared with Hindoos, in giving their children the benefit of the knowledge of English; they now readily avail themselves of the means afforded for obtaining an English education at the Madrissa. . . This success shows the soundness of the principle on which, under the advice of the late Council of Education, the school department of the Madrissa was effectively remodelled in 1854.[1]

The report about the Madrissa in Madras was that its "progress has been extremely satisfactory. . . the pupils are all Mohammedans, and the success of the school as an English school proves that in the town of Madras the distaste to the English education, which was formerly a marked characteristic of the Mohammedan community is rapidly dying out."[2]

## The Educational System and Social Change

The overt changes planned by the British Government and created in and by the new educational system were readily apparent. There was the introduction of Western sciences and philosophies, and the English language. Also Christian religious beliefs and practices were an integral part of the school life and curriculum. There was the very widespread and highly influencial presence of Christianity in the large number of schools started and managed by the Mission Societies. Obvious changes in the traditional

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[1] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 28.

[2] Ibid., 1860-61, Vol. I, p. 282.

educational institutions of the Hindus and Muslims were brought about when they were totally reorganized by the Government. Evidence showed the Government's overt use of money to persuade people to attend the schools under their supervision and inspection. Government officials were of the opinion that the influence of monetary rewards was important and perhaps vital in persuading Indian people to adopt the new educational system. A Deputy Commissioner reported that "several of the old indigenous tutors who were in the habit of teaching the Koran by rote have been induced by the offer of regular salaries to agree that they will give up teaching the Koran during school hours and steadily pursue the Government scheme of studies. The attendance has been enlarged by the liberal distribution of books and presents in cash and clothes."[1] The Board of College and Public Instruction also reported that the Indian students had "generally abandoned" the traditional Hindu studies in favor of "the acquirement of a knowledge of English." The Board added the observation that this change was "chiefly because the latter holds out the encouragement of a livelihood. . ." and that the "attraction of the central schools in the eyes of the natives is its novelty and endowment."[2]

More important however were the covert changes in Indian society brought about by the educational system established by

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[1] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 154.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 8th February, 1833.

the Government and by Christian Mission Societies.

We already mentioned the use of money to persuade people to accept the new system. Implicit in this arrangement was the fact that a commercial value was assigned to education. One report put it bluntly that "enquiry has shown that in almost every instance the attaining for some favoured individual the monthly salary sanctioned by the Government. . . and not a desire for the improvement of their children is the chief attraction."[1] This was what attracted students to attend Government schools.

Education under the new scheme was designed to train a student to be useful in the economy and Government of society. The traditional Hindu and Islamic systems of education aimed primarily at training persons who would perpetuate the 'spiritual' and 'eternal' values of society. Their functions as educated persons were primarily directed toward the integration and maintenance of society. This traditional education aimed at integrating, harmonizing, and unifying society. The new system deliberately proposed to change the ideas and life styles in society and this was a most radical proposition.

By assigning a commercial value to the products of education, quite necessarily, there arose a totally new social attitude to education. Education was no longer the social responsibility of a few castes; obviously all citizens were a part

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[1] Ibid.

of the country's economy--its commerce, industry, and government. Besides, the commercial value of the traditional education became extremely low even while ideologically it could be held in high esteem.

It is also apparent that in the Government educational system the focus was on the individual student. It was the individual who received Government stipend while attending school. It was the individual who was engaged by the Government and paid a salary based on his individual level of education. No longer did a person go to school because he or she belonged to a specific social group or sex. Also people were not employed because they belonged to a particular social group but rather because they had the education and training to qualify for the work; that is, they were capable of doing the work. This naturally resulted in a social depreciation of the group or caste and in an appreciation of the individual. The social ramifications of this change were both profound and extensive.

The phenomenal extension of Christian Mission schools supported by the implicit backing of Government power made them an institution of society highly persuasive in the area of public opinion. The fact that increasingly larger numbers of persons attended the Government and Government-aided Mission schools was a strong indication of the effectiveness of the schools in

changing public opinion. Evidence is clear that the Government had a covert expectation, or at least a hope, that the new system of education would change the opinions of the people about religion, morals, and style of life. The Director of Public Instruction expressed this hope when he reported that, "towards the close of the last official year it was ordered by the Government that the education of minors, who are wards of the Board of Revenue, should be brought under the supervision of this department, so as to allow of the D.P.I. forming and expressing an opinion on the progress of the youths. The inspectors of school have been directed to consult with the Collectors, who have the immediate control of the minors, and to recommend such a course of education with reference to each, as may seem most conducive to moral and mental development of the individual."[1]

The "minors" referred to were the children of Zemindars. The intention of the Government was quite clear. They expected to produce a group of educated elite who would support the "views of Government." It was a deliberate policy of the Government to select the children of the social and economic leaders of India society and provide special education for them. The "inspectors of schools" and the district "Collectors" were to collaborate and

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, Vol. II, p. 37.

provide a tightly controlled "course of education with reference to each, as may seem most conducive to moral and mental development of the individual." Many of these "minors" were sent overseas for the completion of their "course of education." These were the first of a large number of highly Westernized elite.

Resistance to this tightly controlled program of indoctrination was probably minimal. The British authorities had gained total control over property rights and land revenue collections on which the existence of the Zemindari system depended. The Zemindar was also a person whose life was given to the management of property and finances. The new education provided for his children obviously appealed because it brought the benefits of better management.

The Mission schools were more frank and expressed an avowed policy to "convert the heathen." Reference has already been made to this fact. The Rev. Henry Taylor at Bellary reported the matter well. He wrote, "The natives themselves have come to me requesting me to educate their children, some anxious for them to read the Bible, others requesting merely to be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic without reading our Scriptures. I have admitted the latter class of boys.. . I at all events go some way to prepare them for the reception of such a belief. . ." His report also illustrates the effectiveness of the schools in changing public opinion. He stated that, "there are many who

desire to bring up their children in those moral and religious principles which the Church of England maintain and inculcates."[1] The change in public opinion because of the schools was evidenced by the fact that the old traditional schools fell into disfavor and people stopped sending their children to them. Data was already presented which included the Government report that Indians no longer were interested in "mythological" studies or in "Sanscrit" or in "Persian;" "a knowledge of English is what every native of whatever caste or persuasion is now desirous of his son. . ."[2]

From one point of view the new school system was a widespread public advertisement of a new set of beliefs and values, and a new style of life. Because it was widespread and because it had the support of the State, the advertisement could not be ignored. In addition education in the new set of beliefs and values was a commodity of high market value in British India. If nothing else, this arrangement by being present and widely advertised brought under question the old social customs and values. This in itself was a fundamental change in the normal traditional operations of Indian society.

With these several forces at work in society it can be

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[1] Consultation of Government, Ecclesiastical Department, 7th March, 1843.

[2] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 8th February, 1833.

concluded that the overall result would be fundamental change in the whole social order, a serious questioning of the traditional religions, and the acceptance of a new set of values. And, in general, the result would be that a greater emphasis would be placed on the physical and material aspects of man's life in society.

Since English was the language of the State and since commerce and government were conducted on the Western pattern it was natural that the education in Government schools should concentrate on teaching English and principles of Western law and commerce. Again we must stress that the students learned not only about the new ways of government and trade, but they also learned to be critical of society. It can be safely assumed that when they accepted a new set of laws to govern society and adopted new rules for trade and commerce, the whole structure of society had to make major adjustments to allow for the operation of the new arrangements. The whole new system of structure and curriculum posed a criticism in the fact that it existed as replacement for the old traditional systems. This naturally developed attitudes of depreciation for the traditional on the one hand; on the other hand, the benefits to be gained from loyalty to the new system inspired a widespread appreciation of the new system and the ideas and skills promoted through it.

# CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

Swami Vivekananda, one of India's great leaders, was one of the first to recognize that under British Colonial Government India was experiencing something unique and unprecedented in history. The English invader was different--unknown in previous history. It was "that England, whose warflag is the factory chimney, whose troops are the merchant men, whose battle-fields are the market-places of the world, and whose Empress is the shining Goddess Fortune herself. . . What new revolution will be effected in India by her clash with this new giant power, and as a result of that revolution what new transformation is in store for future India,--cannot be inferred from her past history."[1]

This dissertation was an attempt in part to study and understand the "revolution" and the "transformation." It was during this period of India's history that the British Government was introducing to India's citizens revolutionary new ideas and products; and Indian social institutions were involved in profound transformation.

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[1] Swami Vivekananda, op. cit., p. 385.

In order to make this study we have had to document and describe historical data. However, our purpose throughout has been to do more than present a descriptive account of a period of India's history. Specifically our purpose, as indicated at the outset, has been to investigate the interrelations and working arrangements between State and Religions during this volatile period of time in India. There was the added incentive that this investigation would lead to a better understanding of present day India and also to an understanding of how State and Religions did effectively produce social changes. That enormous changes took place would be evident to any observer.

The British entered India as a private company interested in trade and profit. Its policy with respect to India society, culture, and religion was stated repeatedly and publicly as one of "neutrality" and "non-interference." In the words of a Company Magistrate, "It was his opinion that he had acted on the basis of neutrality and non-interference for native religious practises, ordered by the Government."[1] At the time of the language controversy in education the Governor-in-Council assured some "learned" Brahmins and Muslims that "the compact to which the Government stands solemnly pledged is strict neutrality."[2]

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, April, 1840.

[2] Robert Watson Frazer, British India, (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), p. 387.

However, the evidence shows that this policy of "neutrality and non-interference" was relative to the Government's responsibility to maintain peace and order. Peace and order in society are essential for trade and commerce. Also we must recognize that the maintenance of peace and order in Society is the responsibility of the Government. What had happened was that the East India Trading Company had in fact by the middle of the 19th Century assumed the responsibilities of government for the major part of India. As the governing power they discovered that social and religious "neutrality and non-interference" were relative to the numerous other functions that a government must fulfill in society.

As the Company assumed the role of the State their interest increased in the welfare of the citizens of India as their people. They discovered that they were in fact governing for a people. The citizens of India could no longer be viewed only as a potential market or as a source of revenue. The citizens had to be understood as having a moral value. Pitt's India Act of 1784 and the requirements contained in the renewal of the Company's Charter of 1813 made it clear that "in the field of general policy the main tendency was to develop and emphasize the consciousness of moral obligation in administering the Company's possessions. . .'it is the duty of this country to promote

the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India.'"[1] When the Company assumed the responsibility of governing they accepted a moral responsibility for the spiritual dimensions of man's life as well as his physical well-being. Under these circumstances they discovered that the policy of "neutrality and non-interference" also conflicted with what they as Western Christians believed, and now as government accepted to be their moral obligation to introduce to India.

The records indicate that the Government was deeply interested in changing "heathenish practices" and eliminating "ignorance" in society. If the Government wished to perpetuate its rule then it was obvious that either it would have to change to fit the social milieu of India, or that society would have to change its beliefs and structures to harmonize with those of the Government. The former was out of the question for a Western Colonial power. With regards to the second alternative the records show that the Government did not take direct action to outlaw traditional beliefs; and direct interference in religious processes and procedures was infrequent. In part this unusual situation is explained by the fact that the English did not invade India as a military power but rather entered as a commercial agency.

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 313.

Given this unique situation, it is understandable that a distinctive style of operations and system of organization would develop. Our evidence reveals that in order to bring about the changes it desired, the Government basically employed two methods: 1) it used persuasion in a variety of ways; and, 2) it followed a pattern of deliberately changing the institutionalized religious and social processes and programs--the structures. The Government having changed the structure, society would naturally have to change its ideas and way of life to accommodate the new structure.

In order to persuade the Indians to accept the value system of the Government, its Christianized Western beliefs, and style of life, the Government was not above using bribes. The evidence is clear that they offered "allowances" to teachers to not teach the Koran. They offered stipends for students to attend the "new system" of education. They provided special assistance and relief to "native Christians." They offered employment ("livelihood") to those educated in the new system. Bribery is an age-old method of political persuasion and possibly it has some moral advantage over the use of force and fear; certainly it does not create the same degree of intimidation and alienation as does the use of fear. However, the most formidable instruments of persasion were the education system and the institutions of the Christian religion.

The educational system was planned to "promote the views of Government." It acted very evidently as a promotion and propagada agency for the policies and programs of Government; it promoted Western and Christian ideas and style of life. This general purpose for education was revealed even more specifically in the Government policy of compelling the children of the land owners and social leaders to undergo a controlled "course of education" to develop the proper moral values and outlook. Education was also seen as necessary to train people in those skills essential for their participation and employment in the Government. This led to the creation of a body of elite leadership basically loyal to the Western values and way of life or at least they would be unable to revert to their ancient ways.

Education was primarily intended to provide education compatible with the policies of the Government and to give training in those skills essential for government and commerce. At one time the Lieutenant-Governor defined the education policy as being, "the diffusion of Western Science, European learning and rudimental instruction in the vernacular."[1] When the Charter for the Company was renewed in 1813 it was Wilberforce who persuaded Parliament to include a requirement that, "a sum of not

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[1] Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India during the Year 1859-60, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 103.

less than one lakh of rupees should be set aside. . . for the introduction or promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British Territories in India."[1] Education was the instrument established to acculturate the people to Western ideas and practices and to train them in skills which, in the Government's opinion, were useful to society.

The educational system was therefore individualistically and commercially oriented. Under the new system people did not go to school because they belonged to a particular caste or had a particular social or religious role to fulfill. They went to school because it provided them with skills which could be profitably traded in the commercial and government employment market. The focus was on the commercial value of education rather than on its social or religious value. The status value of education in the traditional system was inherent in the social prerequisites for education; in the new system of education the status value of education focused on the individual skill or profession acquired and its commercial value--the higher the salary the greater the status. Society had to adjust its value system to allow for the new values inherent in the new system. This adjustment was of major proportions because the new system replaced the old structures; and Hindu and Muslim society had to participate in the existential act of abandoning their old systems of education.

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 103.

Even more remarkable was the modus operatus that developed between Government and the Christian Religion. Our study shows that the institutions of the Christian religion were most effective agencies of persuasion. However, it is clear that the Christian institutions did not function as a promotion agency because of pressure exerted by the Government. The unofficial alliance between the State and the Christian religion was undoubtedly because they shared a common birthright, common ideals, purposes, and style of life. The institutionalized processes of the Christian religion were, in one sense, voluntary agencies promoting Government policies and programs, because the policies and programs were compatible with and similar to their own. The advantage of this arrangement to the Government was that it could and did give substantial support to the Christian religion and still publicly appeared neutral. Records show that this substantial support came from "public funds" and in some cases from Hindu temple funds. The Christian religion benefited through this arrangement in that it could sell itself to the public through persuasion and useful service and remain free from any appearance of having been forced on the people by an imperial power. The multitude of independent Mission Societies that entered India made the autonomy of the Christian religion appear genuine even though they received Government support in numerous

ways. Evidence is clear that the Government gave generous support to the whole range of Christian religious activities.

Mention must be made of the struggle for power that took place between the newly appointed Bishop and the Governor-in-Council. Until 1814 the Governor-in-Council was the only authority responsible for the Ecclesiastical establishment of the Company. When the Prince Regent of England created the first Bishop's See in India the authority for the Ecclesiastical establishment of the Company and for all religious institutions associated with the Anglican Church was transferred to the Bishop. A series of confrontations occurred between the Governor-in-Council and the Bishop. (Confrontations also occurred between the clergy and the lay trustees who had been active in the programs of the local churches.) The first confrontation concerned the matter of authority for the appointment of the lay trustees of the local churches. A later confrontation had to do with the issue of who had the authority for the appointment and transfer of the clergy of the Company. In each case the authority of the Bishop over the affairs of the Christian religion was recognized by the Court of Directors; and the Governor-in-Council had to accept this decision. During this process of transfer of authority, the involvement and responsibility of the lay persons in the church unfortunately declined greatly. On the positive side,

it can be noted that the autonomy and independence of the church and its cooperation with the Government was assured.

An interesting observation should be included. The various Christian agencies, churches, and Missions were considerably more independent in India, far from their established authorities, than they would have been at home. These many different groups shared one common feature--the Colonial Government. Through the good offices of the Government they were all helped. And, they all accepted the Government as their common ground for meeting and occasionally as their arbitrator. This set the pattern for the ecumenical programs which followed later.

The Christian religion benefited through this arrangement not just from the financial support it received from the Government. By appearing independent from the Government the Christian religion was able to act effectively as a trusted broker of ideas and beliefs between Indian society and the British Colonial Government. Christianity was free to sell itself openly. This arrangement made Christianity the first serious radical religious option extended to the Hindu public. The phenomena of the ubiquitous presence of Christianity in India demanded a decision from and an adjustment by Society. The whole thrust of the Christian presence through the education system as well as through institutionalized religious processes

and procedures was predicated on the proposition that change was possible. In essence this made the freedom to choose one's religion for the first time a real possibility in India. Traditional Hindu and Islamic society and religion were perpetuated on the premis that change was neither possible nor desirable; for everyone and everything was under the divine, eternal law of karma or kismet. Christianity, on the other hand, through its beliefs, programs, and its posture in the situation of India presented the possibility of radical change. People became ideologically free to choose an alternate religion. Christianity brought under criticism the divine order as well as the social order. At a later stage when Hinduism adopted a position of self-criticism the possibility of revolutionary changes was actualized and the idea of a secular state could be entertained.

The physical presence of Christianity was soon widespread. Christian churches, schools, and cemeteries proliferated throughout the whole country. Society had to absorb this new phenomena. More significant was the fact that, in the style of their physical presence, Christians exhibited the dominant value they placed on the physical and material. The value Christians placed on the temporal and physical stood in sharp contrast to the Hindu notions that the spiritual only are of value and that the temporal is delusive. These traditional notions were under criticism because

of the lebendige dasein of the Christian religious procedures. The effect of the physical presence of Christianity was further intensified by the fact that some of the Christian churches which were built rivaled the glorious temples of the Hindus and as a whole they were comparable to the average temples; and these were used primarily by the outcastes. This was a demonstration of the value Christians placed on human worth and human equality before God. The Christian presence was a social phenomena of a large dimension and the Indian religious and social adjustment would be profound and difficult. However, the beginnings of an adjustment to a religious and caste phenomena at this time made it easier at a later period for Hindu religious institutions to accept and provide a place for the outcastes.

We have indicated that in order to implement its policies and programs, and institute the changes necessary to allow the implementation, the Government of India followed a policy of intensive persuasion; and, secondly, they deliberately changed India's institutionalized religious and social processes and procedures. Evidence clearly showed the deliberate change in the structure of the educational system. We have already indicated that because of the change in the system and curriculum of education there were consequent changes that occurred in society and religion and in their beliefs, value systems, and style of life.

Records indicate that from the early period of its control over India the English Company followed a policy of exercising management control over the Hindu religious institutions--the temples and pagodas. To exercise this control the Government had to change the traditional structure of authority and procedures. The Government assumed the authority and responsibility for the appointment of temple officers and the trustees responsible for temple properties. The Government kept in its custody and control the temple finances and the "articles" required for religious ceremonies and festivals. Finally, the Government insisted on the recognition of its authority over religious programs by ruling "that any change in religious ceremonies must have the approval of Government."[1] The control exercised by the Government over the temples was novel and characteristic of a commercial establishment. The Government's interference was not an austentatious intrusion into the public programs of the temple; the interest of the Government was to exercise effective control over the religious institution and this they did while publicly maintaining the appearance of "non-interference." Having gained control of the management of the religious institutions of the non-Christian

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[1] Consultation of Government, Public Department, 27th March, 1832.

religions the Government could insist that in matters of public observances and ceremonies, "the Indian people must be left to follow their own systems of faith and morals."[1]

The development of this arrangement by the Government resulted in a variety of changes. Obviously the traditional Indian leadership was by-passed and their authority was seriously restricted. Traditionally Hindu religious leadership was selected by heritage and caste; under the new arrangement it was by Government appointment. This intensified the change in the process of selection of leadership for society and religion. Education, commerce, and government had already discarded the traditional process of leadership selection by caste and inheritance. Caste and heritage were no longer necessarily valuable commercially nor for status or leadership in society or religion. Under the new arrangement the process of selection of leadership focused on education and the appointing authority. In the traditional system the individual as employee had proprietory right by caste and birth to certain jobs and roles in society and religion. In the new commercialized system the proprietory right belonged to the employer. The selection of the employee depended upon his education on the one hand and on the other hand it depended even more on the appointment order from the employer.

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[1] The Cambridge History of India, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 97.

Consequently, to a large degree a person's position and function in society and religion depended on his education and appointment. As a result of such an arrangement leadership status would, with the passing of time, increasingly be estimated in terms of education and earning capacity and less in terms of caste and heritage. Whether for good or ill, a person's worth in society would become to be calculated in economic and commercial terms and increasingly less in terms of the person's spiritual and human value.

The fact that the Government exercised effective management control over the Hindu religious institutions meant that internal reform in Hinduism could later take place; the vested interest of the entrenched leadership had already been effectively restrained. This would help explain why the Hindu religious leadership which had been able to effectively resist Buddhism and Islam, this leadership--the Brahmins--made only token resistance to the Hindu reform movements of the 19th Century and to the "Harijan" movement led by Mahatma Gandhi.

On the basis of the evidence it is fair to conclude that the Government had developed a system which gave them control over the religious institutions in India. The Government established management control over the institutionalized processes and programs of the non-Christian religions. In the case of Christianity the Government was able to exercise control through

the substantial support it supplied (or withheld), and because of the beliefs and programs it held in common with the Christian religion; an unofficial alliance was established. We have already noted the control of Government over the educational system. The Government in its power, authority, and organization was therefore in a position to introduce revolutionary social changes in India without the risk of serious disorder.

Through this system of interrelationships the Government controlled the educational processes and programs and effectively managed the religious institutions. It could introduce new ideas and radical changes in society and religion with reasonable assurance of their successful acceptance. It was a modus operandi that took into account that a Government must not only be able to introduce revolutionary changes but for the revolution to succeed the Government must also be able to persuade the citizens that it was for their good and should be accepted. In fact the records showed that the Government expected the citizens to assume moral responsibility to actualize the changes proposed by the Government. (The Government was probably not conscious of the fact that having established a workable arrangement to change society, that same arrangement could later be used to introduce changes adverse to the interest of the Government.)

Our study discloses that religious liberty during this period of history was seriously circumscribed. The records are

clear that in the Indian situation the limits of religious liberty were established primarily by two criteria: 1) the maintenance of the ultimate authority of the State, and, 2) the social usefulness of a religion; and the State, until overthrown, had the responsibility to decide what was useful for society. It must be understood that a religion which is judged by the State not to be useful suffers attack from two directions. For one, the State will restrict the liberty of that religion in maintaining those institutions and in performing those programs the State considers harmful. Our data reveals that the British Colonial Government did impose restrictions on the freedom of the Hindu religion. Religion must either be useful or it must successfully promote itself as politically and socially useful, and it must convince the State, on behalf of society, of this fact if it wishes to survive.

From a second direction a religion judged socially useless or harmful by the State suffers and that is from popular neglect. Since it is because of a social situation that a religion has been characterized as useless to society, such a religion is abandoned and its institutions discarded, whether the characterization is true or only falsely promoted. The evidence shows that to a degree the non-Christian institutions were in fact abandoned. The remarkable fact is that in spite of its public declaration of "neutrality and non-interference

in religious practices," the British authorities granted religious liberty only to the extent that it did not jeopardize their authority and to the degree the religious ideas and programs proved useful and compatible to the Government's policies and programs for society.

However, more important was the fact that having accepted the notion of the possibility of change, and having recognized the fact that their religion in the existing situation had proved, and by that situation had been proved useless, the religious leadership of Hinduism initiated efforts to reform Hinduism. Of course, it must be kept in mind that the restrictions imposed by Government also acted as the guidelines for the direction in which reform proceeded. In this case the British Government set the patterns for religious reform by the restrictions it imposed on religious liberty.

This subject is closely related to the matter of justice in society. Even though our study was not concerned specifically with law and justice, one observation cannot be avoided since it proceeds directly from the data we examined. The records indicate that in almost every situation where law and justice were involved the British authorities based their decisions on the "laws of the land of England and its territories." The laws of the land of England were those instituted by "Acts of Parliament"—by the State. These laws were based primarily on the rights of the

individual and on property rights. For Hinduism and Islam the laws of society were instituted by religious authorities and were based primarily on group rights and socio-spiritual obligations. The social and religious changes that occurred because of the introduction of the British judicial and legal procedures would itself be a fascinating study. We can only note, that once the British legal system was accepted people began to think in terms of their individual rights in society rather than in terms of their obligations to society or to their immediate social group.

We have already discussed the social changes that occurred because the Government altered the structure for the process of leadership selection, and also how the change in the educational structure had radical consequences in society to change it. The Government as far as possible avoided direct legal action or force to change social customs. Even in such cases as the "evil and heathenish" customs of suttee and charruck-swinging the Government was inclined to use persuasion--in order to stop the practices. They would impose a fine on a village or the leaders; or they would cancel the proprietory rights of a village or the leaders or an individual; or they would refuse to grant a lease or contract. The point is that the Government discovered that social change can be accomplished by changing the institutionalized social and religious process; the value system,

ideas, and style of life will have to make adjustment to the unescapable reality of the altered institution or procedure. Each of the social customs the Government sought to change had traditional religious legitimations and when the custom was changed those religious legitimations became unattached abstractions.

In the words of one author, "Western liberal ideas and nationalist thought. . . aided by Protestant missionaries. . . had perculated down to the lowest strata of Indian society. .. and had profoundly changed India from the days of Maurya and Mogul autocracy, when nothing stood between the will of the ruler and the silent masses. The masses were silent no longer."[1]

The records disclosed that the customs surrounding marriage and inheritance rules were changed in the first instance to provide for the special situation of the "native Christians." Later the Government instituted laws which varied to cover the marriage and inheritance customs of the various social groups in India. The variations are interesting but not important for our purposes. The important change was that the Government replaced the local social community and itself became the authority to sanction and license marriages. The new procedure for marriage

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[1] Bingham Woodbridge; Hilary Conroy; Frank W. Ilde, A History of Asia, Vol. II, (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc. undated).

was different of course, and the involvement of the Government at the local level can be seen on the one hand as an undermining of the leadership in the local community and society. On the other hand, it was an indication of the growing involvement of the Government in the total life of its citizens.

We also observed the fact that as the Company assumed the role of government it also redirected its interests more directly on its human responsibilities instead of on its commercial and administrative interests. Its new interests and responsibilities were expressed in terms of "removing ignorance" or the "abolition of heathenish and evil practices." The abolition of suttee, charruck, child abandonment, thuggery, etc., were really humanizing efforts. The Christian religion strongly encouraged and supported the Government in these efforts. Using these unusual methods of persuasion the Government aimed at helping the local leadership understand, accept, and adopt these policies of humanization.

In his book, The Structure of Nations and Empires, Reinhold Niebuhr refers to the relationship which normally exists between an imperial State and religions in that nation. His description is appropriate to the development in India. "Religious faith was powerful in all ancient empires in attributing ultimate significance to the contingent political order which soldiers and rulers were able to establish. . ." The Christian religion

instead of remaining "a tool of critical analytical evaluation of government. . . it was made relevant to the empire. . . as a support of its authority. The fact was the powerful impulse in imperial communities to bend any historical religion to its purposes."[1]

The British authorities first entered India as a private trading company whose interest was trade and profit. It remained as a private commercial enterprise while acquiring control over the country. By the middle of the 18th Century it was the effective government of India. However, its early history as a commercial enterprise influenced, to a large degree, its character when it was the Government. It brought into the government processes an awareness of the knowledge of commerce and the laws of economics. It recognized the value of investment, good public relations, and profit. Good public relations make for peace and order, which made for profit; and good public relations require the use of the art of persuasion. Persuasion was more economical than the use of force and fear to keep peace. The records indicate that even the military department was primarily involved in public services, once the rule of the land was secured. Thereafter the military did not spend their entire time in warfare or

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[1] Reinhold Niebuhr, The Structure of Nations and Empires, (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), pp. 87, 92.

in planning warfare with neighboring states or nations.

As a commercial enterprise it also had a distinctive concept of time that it introduced to India. To this unusual Government, more than for another perhaps, time had commercial value. It was worth rupees. Time for the Company was not, as it was with the Hindus, an item of eternal dimensions and interesting for metaphysical speculation; rather, time was hours, days, and weeks whose practical value in the world was readily calcuable. It was within time that one worked to achieve established purposes. For the British time had purpose and direction; it was not, as the Hindus suggested, purposeless repetition. Time encompassed life and so had meaning; time was not, as the Hindus maintained, senseless and delusive. The Christian religious notion of time lent support to the Government's sense of the value of time.

Society had to adjust to this new value of time and in doing so they absorbed the possibility that in time there could be purpose, change, and progress--for the better? (India, as a "developing nation" is now most seriously aware of the value of time."

All the elements necessary to produce social change had been instituted by the British Government in India. In essence, the arrangements which developed between State and Religions and

the strategies employed can be understood as a Government controlled system of mass communication, which was effective in promoting and perpetuating the desired revolutionary changes in India. The situation can best be described in the words of Swami Vivekananda as a "new revolution." Because of what had been created one cannot help but wonder, as did the Swami, "What new transformation is in store for future India?"

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